The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1890.

The Week.

THE Republican Senate caucus agreed last week to a bill to add 12,000,000 ounces of silver bullion to the holdings of the Government, in addition to the regular purchase of 4,500,000 ounces per month. These extra purchases are to be made during the year 1891, but not more than 3,000,000 ounces of the extra 12,000,000 are to be purchased in any one month. For the bullion so bought legal-tender Treasury notes are to be issued. In addition to this, the bill provided that all national-bank notes hereafter retired shall be replaced by silver-bullion Treasury notes, if silver bullion is "offered" at the market price. If no silver bullion is offered at the market price, then the Secretary is to issue a corresponding amount of legal-tender Treasury notes without purchasing bullion. The Finance Committee on Tuesday reported the bill shorn of this latter provision. If the action of the caucus is expected to bind those who have hitherto stood manfully for sound principles of finance, then the outlook is melancholy indeed, since this bill is a step, and a long step, toward the silver standard. The free-coinage men can well afford to accept such a measure, since it hastens the time when the Treasury will be unable to keep silver on a par with gold, as the act of July 14, 1890, contemplates. The amount of silver to be purchased in the coming year, if this bill passes Congress, will be sixty-six million ounces. Now our entire production of silver last year, including that which was obtained from Mexican and Canadian ores smelted in our furnaces, was only 60,000,000 ounces; therefore the minimum amount to be purchased under this bill will require the purchase of 6,000,000 ounces of foreign silver. Very likely Austria will part with a portion of her stock if we bid high enough for it, as she is very anxious to adopt the gold standard. The bill is about as bad as it can be. There must be a remnant of believers in the gold standard left in the Senate. We hope that they will fight against this measure and vote against it at all hazards, even at the risk of a free-coinage bill afterwards.

The *American Grocer* asks us to explain how "we are going to get rid of gold" in case free coinage of silver is enacted by Congress. There is either great ingenuity or great simplicity in such a question. We have never said we were going to get rid of gold, but merely that gold would cease to be used as money and would become a commodity, just as it was during the war. We did not get rid of gold during that period. It was bought and sold freely. Anybody who wanted it and could pay for it, could get it without resort to foreign sources of supply. So it will be under free coinage of silver. Gold will no longer be money, because gold dollars will be more valuable than silver dollars. The transition from gold values to silver values will be the dead-point of danger, because it will be accompanied by a disastrous lock-up of money. The holders of gold—and this means all persons who have command of ready money—will seek to save the difference in value between gold and silver. They will not wait till the silver standard actually comes. They will take time by the forelock. They will anticipate the event by withdrawing their deposits from the banks, and putting them where they will not be subject to a shrinkage of value. It is not necessary to send gold abroad to secure this result, but the effect upon business will be the same. We have said that free coinage of silver means the demonetization of gold. If anybody thinks that gold can be demonetized without producing a fearful crisis in the grocery trade as well as in other trades, he will not need more than one experiment to convince him of his error.

The discussion of the Force Bill took on a new aspect on Friday when a vigorous speech against the measure was delivered by a Republican Senator, Mr. Stewart of Nevada. His argument was based on the impregnable position that the attempt to execute such a law "would be disastrous to both races," and especially to the negroes in whose behalf it is urged. He made a strong point by recalling the opposition to the Force Bill of 1875 on the part of Mr. Hoar, Gen. Garfield, Gen. Hawley, and other prominent Republicans then in the House. Gen. Hawley, he said, was very strenuous in his opposition, declaring that there could be no genuine protection of the negro in the South under legislative enactment. Mr. Stewart might also have quoted much more recent deliverances from the Connecticut Senator against the policy which underlies the present Force Bill. Gen. Hawley was always one of the most earnest opponents of a Federal School Law, such as was proposed in the "Bill to Promote Mendicancy"—a measure which, like the Force Bill, was urged on the ground that the interference of the Federal Government was needed by the negroes of the South. Gen. Hawley insisted that the negroes would fare better in the long run if the matter were left to the States.

The author of the McKinley Bill and his followers told us after the election that that measure would advance wages and make the country so prosperous that the Republican party would regain all the ground it had lost, and that the voters who had buried the new tariff under their execrations in November, would be led in sheer gratitude for the abounding prosperity heaped upon them to reverse their verdict in 1892, etc. Well, we have had nearly three months of McKinleyism, and what have we witnessed? Failures of woollen-mills of a very disastrous kind, reductions of wages in the iron trade, the closing of carpet-factories, and a general advance in the prices of goods, accompanied, of course, by a reduction of sales and great difficulty in making collections. The condition of trade has not been so bad since the period immediately following the panic of 1873. We do not affirm that the McKinley Bill has been the sole cause of the trouble, but it has contributed its quota. Certainly it has not prevented hard times, as McKinley and his deluded followers said that it would. If it has had any effect upon wages, it has reduced them. If it has had any effect upon wool-manufacturing, it has crippled it. We know that it has caused an advance in prices, because the dealers are advertising this fact in the newspapers and in circulars every day. That it has curtailed sales and shortened trade, every merchant's ledger will show.

The Jaeger Sanitary Woollen System Company, which has acquired great popularity in this country and an extensive sale of its underclothing, has issued a circular stating that it will be compelled after the first of January to advance the prices of its goods on account of the increased duties of the McKinley tariff. These knit goods are classified as wearing apparel, and the rates of duty under the old and the new tariff are as follows:

	Old rate.	New rate.
Value not over 30c. per lb.	33c. per lb. and 40 per cent.	49½c. per lb. and 60 per cent.
Value 30c. and not over 40c	38½c. per lb. and 40 per cent.	49½c. per lb. and 60 per cent.
Value 40c. and over	44c. per lb. and 50 per cent.	49½c. per lb. and 60 per cent.

A few examples will suffice to show how the McKinley Bill enhances the cost of keeping one's self warm in the wintry weather which is now upon us:

	Former price.	McKinley price.
Undershirts, winter quality:		
32 inches	$2.45	$3.00
34 "	2.55	3.15
36 "	2.65	3.30
40 "	2.85	3.65
50 "	3.75	4.75
Drawers, winter quality, A:		
28 inches in waist	2.50	3.00
30 " "	2.65	3.15
32 " "	2.75	3.30
40 " "	3.20	4.10
50 " "	4.25	5.00

These are examples, merely, object-lessons of the McKinley benefactions. The same advance runs through the whole list. And yet the Republican newspapers tell us that the advance of prices was a Democratic device to win votes, and that it has all disappeared since the election. Let anybody who thinks it has disappeared apply for one of the Jaeger catalogues, or let him try to buy one of the Jaeger undershirts after the first of January.

Why the manufacturers refuse orders at old prices, and why dealers must soon advance their prices for crockery and glassware, is clearly shown by an article in the Boston *Herald*, giving the figures of

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a recent importation of table glassware of the medium kind, which arrived a few days ago from Antwerp. The foreign cost of this shipment was $1,775. Under the old tariff law the duty upon this importation would have been $742 30; under the present tariff law the duty assessed and paid was $1,065, of which $48 was for duty on the cost of the straw and cases required for the proper shipment of the goods. In other words, there was an increase in duty of $322.70, which is equivalent to a little more than 43 per cent. of the old duty. The reason for the advance in duties on glassware was the wish of Mr. McKinley to benefit the glass-manufacturers of his Congressional district, who wanted the price of foreign-made glassware advanced, for the purpose of enabling them to obtain higher prices for goods of their own manufacture.

Supt. Porter will hardly accuse the editor of *Nature* of partisanship in American affairs. *Nature* is recognized everywhere as the foremost scientific journal, of a general character, in the world. If Mr. Porter will read its leading editorial in the issue of November 27, he will find cold comfort in it; and his pain will doubtless be greatly increased by the total absence of anything that even he would call "frenzical" in the tone of the article. The editor is evidently moved much more by sorrow than by anger; the sorrow being largely due to the fact that, if our census is defective, "the whole world sustains a loss in being deprived of comparisons of many kinds with so remarkable a progress as that of the United States." The principal reason which drives *Nature* to the conclusion "that there is a huge blunder, or worse, somewhere," lies in the fact that the rate of increase for the total population shows a falling-off in spite of the vastly augmented immigration of the decade. The writer points out that even if we were to make the extreme allowance suggested by Mr. Porter, that the census of 1870 was deficient by 1,500,000, the increase of population between 1870 and 1880, after deducting the immigration figures, would still be 7,500,000; so that

> "we should still be confronted by the fact that, starting from a larger population and with a larger immigration, the excess of births over deaths in 1880-90 would [presumably] have been from 25 to 30 per cent. more than in the previous decade, or at least 9,500,000, whereas it appears to be under 7,000,000. The figures of the census of 1890 are, therefore, quite incredible."

And *Nature* does not omit to point out that the Superintendent of the Census in his defence fails to make any mention of the immigration statistics. By an American who is in the habit of reading *Nature*, its expressions of distrust in regard to our census, and of regret that "for purposes of comparison every census in the world is thrown out" by it, will be the more keenly felt on account of the abundant and generous recognition which *Nature* always accords to the work of the scientific departments of our Government. We do not believe that as adequate notice or as frequent praise of the work of the Coast Survey and similar American scientific enterprises is to be found in any American publication. The strictures of *Nature* are entitled to all the weight which is due to the criticism of a friend.

Mr. A. C. Richardson of Buffalo has conceived the idea of an improved blanket-ballot to take the place of the separate party ballots now required by the New York law. He arranges the names of all candidates in alphabetical order under each office, and places after each name an emblem or device to indicate the politics as well as the party name itself. Thus, he indicates all Republican candidates with a star and the name Republican, all Democratic candidates with an eagle and the name Democrat, all Prohibition candidates with a glass of water and the name Prohibition, and so on. Each voter is to mark with a cross the name of each candidate of his choice. In order to have this ballot adopted in place of the separate ballots, the law would have to be amended in several respects, and the long-standing provision against the use of any device or name to indicate the politics of the candidates would have to be repealed. If this were done, it might be as well to have the method of the Indiana law followed, which prints the names in party groups upon a blanket-ballot, and puts a device or name at the head of each group.

A bill making an appropriation for a proper topographical survey of the Territory of Alaska was reported in September by the House Committee on Military Affairs. This Territory contains 600,000 square miles. It has been in possession of the United States for twenty-three years, and yet it is a positive fact that little or nothing is known of the interior. The rivers have been ascended to a certain distance, and the sea-coast has been surveyed, but beyond this the United States Government is very ignorant of the nature and contents of the property; of its capacity as a field of production, nobody is able to speak. This is, to put the matter on the lowest ground, a discreditable state of things for a Power with an overflowing Treasury. The whole region should be surveyed and mapped, and its resources of every kind ascertained. The explorations hitherto made along the rivers have been very hasty and imperfect, and have little or no value either for the geographer, or farmer, or miner, or lumberman. The proposal in the House Bill 12,111 is to send a properly equipped party up the Yukon River to a central point, there establish a United States post, and thence run the explorations in every direction. One hundred thousand dollars is all that is asked for this purpose, and we sincerely hope it may be possible to pass the bill in this Congress, so that the work may be begun in the spring.

It is encouraging to see that nearly all the members of the Legislature to whom the City Reform Club sent its queries for opinions upon separate municipal elections, have felt the necessity of making some kind of a reply. Most of them, as was to have been expected, are against any change, but this does not mean that the outlook is hopeless. A similar inquiry, sent out a few years ago in regard to ballot-reform legislation, would have met with no more encouragement. Separate elections will not find many friends among the politicians until the interest of the people is attracted; after that the project will have all the support it needs. We trust that the Club will not let cold water from any source have the slightest effect in checking its exertions. It has taken hold of a most important reform, and it is certain to carry it to success if it will agitate without ceasing. An interesting fact about the recent election in Boston has just come to hand, which conclusively answers the plea that the voters cannot be aroused to sufficient interest in a municipal election which comes close upon the heels of a State or national election. The State and Congressional election in Boston was held on November 4, and the city election just five weeks later, yet there were only 330 less votes cast in the latter than there had been in the former. Commenting upon this fact, the Boston *Record* says:

> "This is remarkable, considering the dulness of the campaign. Under the old system of voting, with a campaign so uninteresting, such a vote would not have been possible. People will vote under the secret-ballot system for no other reason than that it is convenient."

We must not be too hard on the Mayor about "Paddy" Divver's elevation to the judicial bench for a term of ten years at a salary of $8,000. The people of this city at the last election gave him leave to do such things to any extent he might deem necessary and the law would allow. To expect men like the Tammany managers not to appoint men like Divver to high-salaried positions, and to expect men like Divver not to take them when they can get them, is to be very unreasonable. We do not say this sarcastically, or ironically, or humorously. We say it in all seriousness. There is no city or country in the world in which the class to which Mayor Grant and his colleagues belong would not do the same thing if they got a chance. There are tens of thousands of them now in London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin eager for mayoralties and commissionerships and police magistrateships; and the sole reason they do not get them is that their decent and industrious fellow-citizens will not let them have them. They have, therefore, in lieu of them, to accept positions as laborers, keepers of beer saloons and gambling-houses and brothels, subject, however, to a good deal of persecution at the hands of the police and of public authorities generally. Moreover, Mayor Grant submitted the whole question of his fitness to make appointments to the voters of New York in November. Neither he nor his friends, we must do them the justice to say, practised any deception. He pointed to his record during his present term as a

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sample of what his policy would be in the future, and that record was full of Divvers. His own career, too, as well as that of his leading supporters, was laid before the public with an accuracy which was never successfully questioned. In fact, in no fight with municipal evil-doers since the city got its first charter, was the issue submitted to the voters with such fulness, candor, and correctness as at the last election.

The responsibility for all this shame and damage really lies among the "highest order of citizenship the county affords"—the well-to-do, intelligent, and industrious class, 30,000 strong, who condemn Tammany's works and ways, but, knowing them well, stayed away from the polls on the 4th of November. Their reasons for this abstention would discredit the character and intelligence of an orator at an Anarchist meeting. Some were willing to see Grant made Mayor because they wanted a Democratic majority in Congress; some because they wanted a Democratic President in 1892; some because they disliked William R. Grace; others because they disliked "Tom" Platt; others because they disliked Father Ducey; others because they disliked ministers; others because they had never voted for a Democrat; others because they had fought in the war. One might search in vain the ratiocinative processes of the least political races of the world for a parallel to these modes of reaching the conclusion that Grant would do for the chief magistracy of a great commercial city. "Paddy" Divver, respectable brethren, is *your* man; so will "Eddie" Hagan be. These ornaments of the bench are the products of your logic and your conscience. Others like them are waiting their turn to share the good things you have provided for them.

Mayor Grant has, in a sheepish way, published some of the "testimonials" which "Paddy" Divver produced to support his application for the police justiceship. Of course, every one knows that the testimonials had nothing whatever to do with the appointment: all these arrangements are made beforehand. When "the deal" is closed, if the appointment is an unusually bad one, the appointee sallies out in search of references which will in some degree shield the party of the first part, and he never has any difficulty in getting them. There is nothing an average New York business man signs so readily as a testimonial, especially if he is approached in business hours. There is no name, however, of the half-dozen "Paddy" Divver succeeded in getting, except Recorder Smyth's, which is calculated to surprise the political observer. We must say that Mr. J. J. O'Donohue's rapturous delight in having an opportunity to recommend "Paddy" for a judicial office throws a curious back-light on the talk of him (Mr. O'Donohue) as a reform candidate for the Mayoralty in which some people indulged at one time. What is most diverting in the testimonials is the way some of them try to dignify "Paddy" Divver with titles. To Mr. F. B. Thurber he is "the Hon. Patrick Divver," to Recorder Smyth he is "Patrick Divver, Esq." We have no doubt whatever that "Fatty" Walsh could to-day get a testimonial signed by a score of eminent citizens, recommending him, under the style of "Pinguis Walsh, Esq.," or "the Hon. Pinguis Walsh," for any office he himself chose to select.

The Parnellites have suffered a heavy defeat at Kilkenny, Hennessy's majority being 2,527 to 1,356. This election was by general consent a crucial test of the relative strength of the two parties, and practically seals Parnell's fate as a leader. It is not likely, however, that he will in his present mood give up the fight. He will make contests in other places, but his prestige is broken, and if he fights on, he will fight with steadily diminishing strength. Much of his talk continues to indicate a loss of mental balance. The election has been remarkable, as we said last week, as the first Irish election since the Union which had any practical bearing on politics—that is, which decided anything in which the Irish had a direct interest. The Clare election in 1829, which sent O'Connell to demand admission to the House of Commons in spite of his disqualification as a Catholic, had, it is true, important results, but few or none of O'Connell's supporters expected that it would have any such results when they ran him as a candidate. What they sought was to make a sensation in England, but by a stroke of unexpected good luck they precipitated Catholic emancipation. The Kilkenny election, on the other hand, has been fought out with the knowledge on both sides that the result would not only exert an important influence on the fortunes of Home Rule, but probably decide which English party should carry on Government in the next Parliament. With such tremendous issues at stake, the wonder is, considering the bellicose nature of the constituency, that there has not been more disorder.

The election may fairly be called the most important current event in the European world. The Continental press seems to take nearly as much interest in the crisis as the British press, but, as a general rule, is very hostile to Parnell. In fact, one has only to look at the European newspapers to-day to be astonished at the large place which the Irish question has taken in European politics. The English newspapers contain little beyond articles on Parnell and reports of the speeches of the two factions. In all this, it is but just to say, no paper appears, as a public journal, to greater advantage than the London *Times*. The editorial articles about the Irish are as furious and unfair as usual, but the reporting of all Irish meetings and speeches is a splendid example of first-class journalism — no burlesquing, no unfair summarizing, no ridicule. Every word and incident is given as fairly and fully as it might be done by stenographers hired by the Irish themselves. In fact, in the exclusion of editoral passions and prejudices from its news columns, the *Times* has probably rendered more service to journalism as a profession than any other newspaper in the world. Moreover, no man is denied a hearing in its columns, and a hearing, too, proportioned to his prominence or conspicuousness, no matter how much the editor hates or despises him. All this, which is now a tradition of long standing, of course only makes the part of the *Times* in the Pigott affair all the more inscrutable. It shows, however, what passionate hatred of the Irish at that time filled all the Unionist breasts, and how much the Unionists were willing to risk in order to discredit the Irish party in the House of Commons, and through them Gladstone. Whatever now happens to Parnell, he must always have the credit of having given the Irish question its present prominence, and made an Irish election an event of world-wide interest, and he did it by forming the Irish vote in the House into a solid phalanx which could not be shaken or disorganized, and which threw itself on one side or the other in English politics with a weight which broke up the old parties, and has, in fact, for the present, made the maintenance of the old party lines impossible

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The controversy over the treatment of the Jews in Russia which has been raging in England with considerable virulence, has brought the leading English Rabbi, Mr. Adler, into the field with some new facts. In answer to the charge that the Jews eat up the Russian peasantry by usurious loans, he says that usury and usurers flourish in the greatest degree in those *gubernia* in which Jews are not permitted to dwell, and that in those places usurers are more rapacious than the Jewish money-lenders in the pale of settlement where, owing to competition, the rate of interest charged is far less than in Russia proper. He further says that in the provinces outside the pale of Jewish settlement, where there are no Jewish money-lenders, the usurers are retired shopkeepers, retired or dismissed officials, and sometimes even clergymen. He adds that the trade of money-lending is disappearing among the Jews in those countries in which other trades and professions are open to them; that they engage in it so largely in Russia because they are not allowed to do anything else. But behind the controversy there lies the notorious fact that nothing in any country keeps poor men from borrowing at usurious rates except the absence of security for the loan. In all countries of small peasant proprietors and leaseholders, the usurer follows the farmer, and keeps him in his clutches, because the farmer, unlike most other poor men, has something to pledge. The more ignorant or impulsive or drunken the farmer is, the more the usurer preys on him. For these reasons the money-lender of any race is a greater affliction in Russia than elsewhere—that is, the Russian peasant is probably the most ignorant and thoughtless borrower in the world.

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MONEY AND BANKING.

THE return of a certain amount of hoarded gold to the bank deposits, as disclosed in the last weekly statement, is at once a sign and a cause of returning confidence. The opinion has gained ground in the last few days that there will be no more silver legislation by the present Congress, although a very ominous bill has issued from the Republican Senate caucus. It is too early to affirm anything as to the fate of this measure. The business community evidently thinks that it will not pass, and *à fortiori* that a free-silver-coinage bill will not pass. If this opinion is correct, it betokens that Congressmen have found out at last that it is not want of money, but want of confidence, that has throttled trade during the past few weeks. We showed last week from official statistics how small a proportion of the trade of the country is carried on by means of money, and how large a proportion by means of credit instruments—the ratio being about 1 to 9—and how much more potent for producing mischief is a loss of credit than a shortage of currency, if any such shortage could be shown to exist. Probably these facts have found lodgment in the minds of some influential persons suffering from the silver craze. At all events, the craze seems to be less rampant now than it was when Congress came together.

The common opinion now is, that Congress will do nothing and let the crisis work itself out. This is not the best thing it can do, but it is the best that it is likely to do. Congress might repeal the Silver Bill and improve the national-banking system so that the latter might expand with the needs of the community instead of shrinking and tightening as the country grows. These two measures would restore confidence in a wonderful degree. They would operate upon the nine parts of credit in our commercial system, and then the one part of money would take care of itself. But if Congress will do neither of these things, its best course is to do nothing.

Mr. Edward Atkinson has advanced a plan, in the columns of *Bradstreet's*, for providing an elastic circulating medium through bank agency. He proposes, in brief, to make a new currency of clearing-house certificates—the certificates to be issued in small denominations by a group of banks in specified districts having a large aggregate capital, and to be based upon securities approved by a clearing-house committee, substantially as such certificates of large denominations are issued and retired by the New York Clearing-house at the present time. The details are worked out scientifically, but there is a serious objection, as we conceive, to such a plan, in the fact that it adds another kind of currency to the many and diverse forms now in use. We have at the present time gold coin, standard silver dollars, gold certificates, silver certificates, greenbacks, national-bank notes, and Treasury notes based on silver bullion. Instead of adding a new variety, we ought to eliminate all of these except gold and national-bank notes, although gold certificates might properly be retained for convenience in settling balances between different banks and different cities. The heterogeneousness of the currency is a bad education, teaching the people all the time that anything the Government chooses to put out is good money. The efforts of public teachers ought to be directed to simplifying the currency, not to making it more complex. Mr. Atkinson has rendered good service in this particular in time past.

The national-banking system, as it exists, if not the best banking system in the world, is certainly the best for us. It is better for us than any other could be, because we understand it, are used to it, have become familiar with all its strong and weak points, and can predict what will happen in reference to it in any given case. We now have statistics which give us a law of averages as certain as the actuaries' tables upon which life insurance is founded. We know how many banks in the system will fail in a given number of years, and how their assets will turn out. We have all the information that we ever can have upon which to base a system of bank-note issues which shall be safe and beneficial, and which shall answer the requirements of seed-time and harvest.

The discussions of the past few years, since the bond security of the national-bank note began to grow scarce and the notes themselves began to dwindle, have established in the minds of the best thinkers a belief, amounting to a conviction, that it is entirely feasible to save the system even after all the bonds shall have been paid. The only difficulty now is to get a public sentiment favorable to the banks. It may be said upon this subject with entire truth that where there is a will there is a way. The desire to save the system does not now exist, or, at all events, does not show itself in Congress. Instead of it we have all sorts of crazy projects for issuing greenbacks on landed security, or on country produce stored in Government warehouses, or on nothing at all and for no explainable purpose.

Perhaps it will be necessary to have a recurrence of cramps like the present to direct the public mind to this important subject, and to put the subject in the right light. Of course the first and indispensable thing is to have the standard of value settled. So long as there is doubt whether it is to be silver or gold, no system of banking will serve the public well We shall have cramps and side stitches regularly, and perhaps panics and crashes to boot, until silver is exorcised. When that deliverance is effected, the question will come up, How shall we devise a currency that shall expand when expansion is needful, and contract when contraction is needful, and be at par with gold at all times? There will never be found or imagined a better system than the one we now have, provided only that security for the note issues can be devised to take the place of the vanishing bonds. Such security can be found unquestionably without going into the doubtful field of State and city bonds, or the more doubtful field of the securities of private corporations. The bill prepared by ex-Comptroller Knox last year and introduced by Senator Sherman was a safe plan. The only questionable feature of it was the admission of silver bullion into the list of securities. Unless silver is to be the monetary standard, there is no more reason for accepting that metal as a basis for bank-note issues than for accepting lead, copper, or zinc. That feature of Mr. Knox's bill was probably a concession to popular prejudice. Any plan for saving the national banking system ought to be sound from the beginning and sound to the core.

An alternative to the national-bank system would be the Scotch system of large banks in the cities with branches in the smaller towns. Of this system we had examples in the old State banks of Ohio and Indiana. In the event that the national system dies out with the disappearance of the bond security (as it will if Congress does nothing affirmatively to save it), that system would most likely grow up in place of it. The necessity of having a bank-note issue of some sort would eventually lead to the repeal of the discriminating tax on State bank-notes. But such a step is to be deprecated for many reasons. The nation has been familiarized with the existing system. It has proved its soundness. A quarter of a century at least would be required to gain equal experience of any other. No other would possess the incalculable advantage of uniformity in all parts of the country. All attempts to make an elastic and serviceable currency to be operated by Government officers, whether greenbacks, or interconvertible bonds, or any mixture of the two, will fail miserably. The advantage of bank-notes, provided they be actually and certainly redeemable (and no others should ever be thought of), is that they move automatically, thermometrically, and instantaneously. A money spasm might come and go before the interconvertible bond-greenback apparatus could get itself in motion at all.

CHEAP MONEY, DEAR GOODS, AND THE "DEBTOR CLASS."

THE discussion of the McKinley Bill and experience of the McKinley Act have fixed the attention of the American people in a very wholesome—and, as the elections proved, a very fruitful—way upon the nature of the effects produced by legislation directed towards the raising of prices. It would be a fortunate thing for the country if the lesson thus learned could be made useful in another direction. If the great mass of the people could be made to understand how directly opposed to their interests a descent to the silver standard would be, the specious arguments of those who advocate measures leading to such a step would be of no avail. The case of high tariff is fairly well understood, thanks to the campaign of education begun in December, 1887, and in the plain man's mind that case stands thus: Higher tariff means higher prices for protected articles; and if I am not on the list of the favored, it means no higher income for me; hence it is to me an instrument of oppression.

Shall we have time for a campaign of education on the silver issue? On the answer to

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this question hangs, to an alarming degree, the welfare of this country for many years to come. Shall we have time, before some sort of "cheap money" measure is passed, to get the plain people of the country to see that the transition to cheaper money has the same oppressive character as the transition to higher tariff? That cheap money means dear goods, people can easily be got to understand, and in the present temper of the public this point alone is a great advantage; for, in spite of the new Republican gospel, people do strongly prefer not to have goods dear. Nevertheless, there is a great fascination to the average man about the idea of an abundance of money, and he has a vague feeling that if there is plenty of it about, he will get enough for his share to counterbalance the rise of prices, and more.

If the average man could only be got to fix his mind on the machinery whereby his share of the cheap money will come to him, the country would be safe. Suppose he is a wage-earner—day-laborer, mechanic, clerk, teacher, public officer, or what not—let him picture to himself the day when silver has become the standard of payments. Prices will rise at once; there need be no delay in putting a new label on a piece of dry goods, or crying a new price in the provision-market, when it is plain that the state of trade is going to justify the rise. But any one who has had to deal with an employer knows that the raising of wages or salaries is a slow and painful process; it takes two to make that bargain, and generally it is not the employee who can afford to take the firmer stand in it. This great class of men and women with incomes which cannot be speedily raised, will suffer, some for months, some for years, before their nominal wages will be sufficiently raised to make them equal in actual purchasing power to what they were before the change. To everybody who gets his income in the form of stipulated wages, whether he be a hod-carrier or a justice of the Supreme Court, the descent to a lower standard of payments will be grievously oppressive.

There are other classes to whom the change will be largely indifferent, except in so far as so profound a disturbance of business conditions, so gigantic a stirring-up of daring speculations, may ultimately produce disasters in every direction. But there is one class who will be happy while their fellows are troubled, who will gain while others lose, and for whose sake we shall take this step, if we take it at all. We do not refer to the owners of silver mines, who will profit by the increased vent for the product of their mines. These are undoubtedly very influential, especially in the Senate, and they constitute a formidable element in the problem. But their following would be a mere handful, after all, were it not for the widespread sympathy which is felt by so many amiable persons for the unfortunate class to which we have just alluded, whose burdens will be lightened while those of the rest of us will be made more heavy—the debtor class.

But what is the debtor class? How many of us are there who belong to it? One cannot earn this high privilege by the simple process of incurring a debt. No exact definition of this interesting species has, to our knowledge, ever been laid down; and, while we shall not attempt the task ourselves, it would seem to be both easy and useful to mention some conspicuous instances of kinds of men who do not, and kinds of men who do, belong to the debtor class. It seems clear, then, in the first place, that no man belongs to the debtor class whose debts are insignificant in comparison with his income. And, fortunately, if we leave out the farmer with heavy mortgages on his farm, the great mass of men who are poor or in moderate circumstances are hereby at once excluded from the debtor class. Paradoxical as it may sound at first, the majority of men are too poor to belong to the debtor class; they cannot contract debts of any significance, simply because they have not the credit. How many wage-workers are there who would accept a proposition that would reduce their debts and their wages both 20 per cent.? In most cases 10 per cent. reduction of wages would soon counterbalance 50 per cent. reduction of existing debts. Of course there are workingmen who have mortgages on their little homes, and who may thus stand somewhere in the outer ranks of the debtor class; but is there not an impressive set-off to these in the shape of those whose savings in banks, building associations, etc., place them in the ranks of the hated creditor class? Let each man ask himself whether the excess of his debits over his credits is so important that a general scaling down of debts would compensate him for ever so small a reduction of his income. If a census of the answers could be taken, the debtor class would find itself in a very ridiculous minority.

Of those who do belong to the debtor class, we have already mentioned the farmer whose farm is heavily mortgaged. Whether it is *right* or not for him to ask the Government to relieve him of a portion of his debt, at the expense of those who, in a fair and open bargain, advanced to him money which he needed, we shall not now discuss; that it would be gainful to him, we do not deny. Apart from this contingent, we believe there is but one important body of men in the debtor class, namely, those who own the great industrial enterprises of the country. The great borrowers are those who can do something with capital, those who build railroads and carry on great manufacturing and commercial enterprises. They are not usually men upon whom the philanthropist feels impelled to expend much compassion; they can very well take care of themselves. These men, however rich, are apt to owe great sums of money, and the identification of the great "captains of industry" with the debtor class is strengthened, too, by the nature of their relations to their employees. The employees stand to their employers very much in the relation of creditors; the stipulated wage, while not having the force of a debt, is, as we have said, hard to change, and a lowering of the standard is a lowering of the wage. But while these masters of capital would find their obligations greatly lightened by a lowering of the standard, probably very few of them would favor such a lowering; for they know well the peril to every kind of enterprise which lies in the disappointment of the fair expectations of prudent investors.

Thus we find, leaving out the comparatively small class of heavily mortgaged farms, that the interest of the great mass of the people, and especially of wage-earners, is directly opposed to that of the "debtor class," and that the most important representative of this class is the great employer of labor, who not only does not need, but who dreads, the aid which cheap money might give him. The more the matter is looked into, the more plainly it will be seen that the notions so widely prevalent about the debtor class have no firmer texture than "such stuff as dreams are made of."

THE RAILWAY PROSPECT.

THE railway presidents have met and resolved. Of the need of reform in railway practice there is, unfortunately, no question. It has been estimated that the railroad tonnage to be carried next year will fall short of this year's traffic as much, perhaps, as 25 per cent. With the large freighting done in 1890, there has been no proportional increase in net earnings. If, therefore, 1891 should see a large reduction in gross earnings, and if, in addition, the relation of expenses to earnings should remain as now, the question whether the profits would cover fixed charges would be a serious one for some of our Western carriers. Leaving out of view any material advance in the nominal rates as impracticable, it is yet probable that if the present nominal tariffs could be made real by the abolition of rate-cutting, the increase in net profit would for a number of roads mean the continuance of dividend payments which otherwise would be in doubt. The anxiety of all railroad officers for a restoration of remunerative rates is therefore justified.

The resolutions leave the adjustment of details to a board consisting of the President and one Director from each company. To reach a practical result this board (when consented to in each case by the companies separately), at its proposed meeting in January, must face two particular problems. One of these is the division of traffic between the roads in the proportion agreed upon. This does not seem a formidable difficulty. Some good railroad attorneys think that the Inter-State Law forbids a money pool, but not a physical division of freight. There is besides the possibility of so dividing unconsigned tonnage at meeting-points as to even up any losses on local competitive business. But what proportion of the whole tonnage is each road entitled to? In the territory broadly described as between Chicago and the Missouri River, there are nine competing systems. If the president of each of these roads were independently to state what percentage of the traffic his road should have, the sum of the nine proportions might reach 200. To cut each proportion to one-half would not answer, so that

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in any division some road or roads must be greatly disappointed. For a company which is doing a fair business, it is no doubt true that deliberate rate-cutting to increase tonnage is very bad policy. The general lowering of all tariffs thus brought about causes more shrinkage in profit than the loss of the carriage of a few tons of freight; and such a company is usually willing to maintain rates. But what to do with those railroads which under stable rates would not get a supposed fair share of the traffic, is the problem.

The Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City refused to sign the resolutions. In the cases of other roads similarly situated, experience has shown that the demands of their business were too strong for their officers, even after signing an agreement. The road mentioned has funded its interest charges for three years. Having comparatively little to earn beyond operating expenses during that time, it must meanwhile take advantage of the situation to build up its business. Can this company, with an eye to future fixed charges, agree to accept a permanent percentage on the basis of its present traffic? What is here suggested about Mr. Stickney's road may be true, the details being changed, for other roads. Clearly the division of 100 per cent. of traffic among these rival lines is a most serious problem. One road now is carrying about a third of the whole Kansas City-Chicago tonnage.

In spite of great difficulties, there is a hopeful feeling. The majority of the officers, having the possible future losses in mind, are now more willing to compromise than before; and, for a while at least, agreements to maintain rates and turn cars over to each other will be kept. But, unless there is something behind the resolutions stronger than the mere fear of losses in net earnings for the immediate future, such an agreement will before long be in danger. The legalizing of pooling contracts—if there be any likelihood of such a thing—would help greatly, but even then there would be a destructive war before certain railroads would bind themselves legally to accept a small percentage. The simple permission to divide earnings or tonnage would help somewhat, and in time there will be business enough to give a reasonable amount of tonnage to each of the competing roads. Meanwhile, however much we may wish permanent success to any agreement entered into by nine independent railways, the utmost that can be said is that the immediate prospects are favorable. Apparently we have as yet no body of capitalists few enough to act together, and powerful enough to exercise control by force over a majority of the competing railways. Whether, without such a body or a combination of small holders, the keeping of an agreement such as the above should be expected in the face of a volume of traffic too small to satisfy all the carriers, is doubtful.

Nor should our railway presidents be too quickly blamed for these doubts. Presidents are human, and each naturally thinks that he is intrusted with a responsibility for his own road which he cannot throw upon a board composed of men having no financial interest in his property. There is, too, the legality of a complete transfer of authority to be considered. If any president, by agreeing to maintain rates, and by keeping his word, should thereby allow traffic to be lost to his road, and the earnings to fall below the common expectation, he would be criticised by his directors as well as the stock and bondholders, and his administration called a failure. Nor would the explanation be accepted that such a policy was for the good of all and would turn out best in the end. The Chicago and Alton may not favor remunerative rates between Kansas City and Chicago if thereby it should lose a share of the trans-Missouri traffic. And, to reverse the point of view, the Atchison, after spending millions upon Kansas lines, may not be willing to divide its cis-Missouri traffic, gathered from off its own roads, with the Alton, Wabash, St. Paul, or other railways having no lines west of that river. Not to multiply examples, there seem grave doubts whether any but the lowest rates (whether in the tariffs or not) can be long maintained except by force, if the combined capacity and need of the carriers should be greater than the future volume of traffic offered.

THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY.

AN article in the last number of the *Harvard Law Review*, with the above title, by two members of the Boston bar, Messrs. Warren and Brandeis, is an attempt to extract from reported cases a rule of the common law which will protect individuals from the intrusion of the press on their private life. It says, and truly:

"Of the desirability—indeed of the necessity—of some such protection, there can, it is believed, be no doubt. The press is overstepping in every direction the obvious bounds of decency and of propriety. Gossip is no longer the resource of the idle and of the vicious, but has become a profession, which is pursued with industry as well as effrontery. To satisfy a prurient taste, the details of sexual relations are spread broadcast in the columns of the daily papers. To occupy the indolent, column upon column is filled with idle gossip, which can only be procured by intrusion upon the domestic circle. The intensity and complexity of life attendant upon advancing civilization have rendered necessary some retreat from the world, and man, under the refining influence of culture, has become more sensitive to publicity, so that solitude and privacy have become more essential to the individual; but modern enterprise and invention have, through invasions upon his privacy, subjected him to mental pain and distress far greater than could be inflicted by mere bodily injury. Nor is the harm wrought by such invasions confined to the suffering of those who may be made the subjects of journalistic or other enterprise. In this, as in other branches of commerce, the supply creates the demand. Each crop of unseemly gossip, thus harvested, becomes the seed of more, and, in direct proportion to its circulation, results in a lowering of social standards and of morality. Even gossip, apparently harmless, when widely and persistently circulated, is potent for evil. It both belittles and perverts. It belittles by inverting the relative importance of things, and thus dwarfing the thoughts and aspirations of a people. When personal gossip attains the dignity of print, and crowds the space available for matters of real interest to the community, what wonder that the ignorant and thoughtless mistake its relative importance? Easy of comprehension, appealing to that weak side of human nature which is never wholly cast down by the misfortunes and frailties of our neighbors, no one can be surprised that it usurps the place of interest in brains capable of other things. Triviality destroys at once robustness of thought and delicacy of feeling. No enthusiasm can flourish, no generous impulse survive, its blighting influence."

As a basis for their contention, the writers show that the common law defends the individual against offensive odors and noises; against the unauthorized circulation of his portrait; against the unauthorized publication of his thoughts, sentiments, and emotions—however expressed, whether in words, signs, sculpture, or music; sometimes on the ground that the expression is property, but sometimes on the ground that it is a confidential communication. They rely also on the protection given by the courts to private photographs as against the photographer; and to individuals as against secret instantaneous photography; to trade secrets, to private letters, and so on.

The remedies they suggest are "an action of tort for damages in all cases, or, in the absence of special damages, substantial compensation for injury to the feelings, and in some cases an injunction," for invasions of privacy. They also, however, propose a statute making criminally punishable any person "who publishes in any newspaper, journal, or magazine, or other periodical publication, any statement concerning the private life or affairs of another" without his consent, of course with the usual exception of candidates for office and persons in public positions. The statute it is hardly necessary to discuss, for we doubt if any legislature could be got to pass it. The only hope, if hope there be, lies in the courts; but strong as are the arguments of our authors in support of the power of the courts to interfere, we doubt very much whether, even if they were successful in securing such interference, it would have any serious effect on the evil to be remedied, and this for two reasons.

The first is, that the law could not be put in force except on complaint of the persons injured, and this complaint is hardly to be looked for except in very rare cases, owing to the very nature of the injury. The legal remedy would very closely resemble that old-fashioned cure for headache caused by too much intoxicating drink—"the hair of the dog that bit you." That is to say, the man who feels outraged by publicity will, in order to stop or punish it, have to expose himself to a great deal more publicity. In order to bring his persecutors to justice, he will have to go through a process which will result in an exposure of his private affairs tenfold greater than that originally made by the offending article. Over and above this, too, he will have to offer himself for examination or cross-examination to a lawyer paid for turning him and his grievances into ridicule before a crowded court-room—an ordeal from which nearly all men and women who care for privacy would shrink with unutterable repugnance. To make any legal remedy effective, in fact, the procedure would have to be secret, of which, under our law, there is no chance whatever.

The second reason is, that there would be no effective public support or countenance for such proceedings. In all democratic

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societies to-day the public is disposed either to resent attempts at privacy, either of mind or body, or turn them into ridicule. There is nothing democratic societies dislike so much to-day as anything which looks like what is called "exclusiveness," and all regard for or precautions about privacy are apt to be considered signs of exclusiveness. A man going into court, therefore, in defence of his privacy, would very rarely be an object of sympathy on the part either of a jury or the public. And then "privacy" has a different meaning to different classes or categories of persons; it is, for instance, one thing to a man who has always lived in his own house, and another to a man who has always lived in a boarding-house.

Moreover, a very large proportion of every community nowadays dislike privacy so much for themselves that they are very unlikely to help other people to secure it. It has to struggle against the passion for notoriety on the part of obscure people—one of the strongest of social forces to-day. And it has to contend above all against the great commercial demand for scandal and gossip. In fact, the very greatest and most rapid commercial successes of our day have been made in this market. The newspapers which supply this demand most plentifully are notoriously among the most valuable properties in the United States. Some of the most intelligent and respectable people in the country read them regularly, and put or leave them in the hands of their children. They form almost the only literature of hundreds of thousands of our youths, of both sexes, who leave our public schools every year. We fear there is no lymph in either common or statute law for this most deplorable form of moral tuberculosis.

ON THE EVE OF PARNELL'S DEPOSITION.

LONDON, December 6 1890.

THE crisis which has arisen within the Irish Nationalist party and in their relations to the Liberal party on the question of Mr. Parnell's leadership, is still the absorbing topic of interest, and is the most singular and dramatic political event which has taken place within the present generation. Each stage of the proceeding has undoubtedly been watched and noted as closely on the other side of the Atlantic as on this. Long before this letter reaches you, the constantly-shifting scene may have changed many times, and the issue, now entirely uncertain, may have become more clear, and may be already within the knowledge of your readers.

For the moment, at least, the prospects of the Nationalist cause and of the Liberal party are sensibly obscured. The stability of the alliance between the Liberals and the Irish has been subjected to a sudden, premature, violent, and unexpected strain, and the triumph of a home-rule policy at the next election, which a little while ago seemed assured, again runs the risk of indefinite postponement. The Liberal party are not discouraged. They are confident that they are in the right, and stimulated by the proof of the absolute unity and solidity of the party throughout Great Britain. The action of Mr. Gladstone is enthusiastically backed by the country and warmly endorsed by nearly all his Parliamentary followers. It is believed that at the very worst the situation will have some results of permanent benefit and value. But it cannot be denied that to-day a black cloud overhangs the Home-Rulers which may be big with temporary political disaster.

How has this happened? It may safely be assumed that the average political observer did not foresee or fully estimate the momentous consequences of the disclosures in the O'Shea divorce case. Apart from details, the result was not unexpected in political circles, or in society in the widest acceptation of that word. To the mass of the English and Scotch electors it evidently was unexpected, and, through the sympathetic voice of their leader, they have pronounced their judgment in a sense which the most worldly members of the party admit to be politically wise no less than morally sound. To the mass of the people in Great Britain, as well as in Ireland, Mr. Parnell was the incarnation of the Nationalist cause. To have fought for it in the person of a man who was disgraced would have been to court certain defeat. From the outset the cause had every possible prejudice and prepossession to encounter. The appeal had to be made to the highest considerations of generosity and justice. A high moral enthusiasm had to be evoked in the masses, who are much more readily susceptible of it than their betters. It never could have been evoked or sustained except by a political leader whose power is largely due to the elevation of his character; and it would certainly have ebbed away from a cause impersonated by a man whose private character it was impossible to respect. As an elector said to me, they could not divide him into water-tight compartments. If ever a political issue was decided by the prompt, spontaneous, and harmonious voice of the people themselves, this issue was so decided.

Before this feeling found expression, there was one consideration on the other side which weighed with some sound Liberals, and probably still weighs with many Irishmen. It was said, "The Irish have the right to choose their own leader. Our connection with them is an alliance, not a fusion. We have a common object in view, but we are in no way responsible for the character of their leader." That was a very plausible view, and the Irish members, when, influenced by motives worthy of a generous origin, they rushed together to condone Mr. Parnell's offence, appear to have expected that it would be accepted and acted upon. But in this expectation a consideration was overlooked which must be plainly stated. The most formidable difficulty, if any one were to be singled out, which the advocates of home rule in this country have had to surmount, has been a misgiving on the part of the electors with respect to the character of the men who would be the rulers of Ireland. Calumny directed its shafts skilfully against this vulnerable place. While the accusations of the *Times* were made broadcast against the Irish party, the Pigott forgeries, levelled against Mr. Parnell, unfortunately made his personal character the crucial question in the eyes of the multitude. When these forgeries were exposed, many Liberals who felt sympathy for their victim, still viewed with some alarm the incense which was indiscriminately offered to a man of whose character very little was known. The suspicions of the average respectable citizen whose vote turns elections, of course extended beyond Mr. Parnell to the Nationalist party generally. It was felt that this was still the party of the 1880 Parliament, which had not been so forward as it might have been to disavow and denounce crime. There was an uneasy fear that here was a descending chain, with patriotism in Parliament at the top, but with Fenianism at the bottom, and with no clear break between the links.

While the Parnell Commission was in the main a victory for those who were put on their defence, it revived the memory of an agitation which, after making all allowances, had many characteristics which were repugnant to honest men. Every effort was made to combat these prepossessions. Leaving out of view Mr. Parnell, who kept aloof and whose position and ways were exceptional, English and Scottish members had confidence in the leading men among their Irish colleagues. No longer shunned and distrusted, as they were in former Parliaments—a most demoralizing position—they appeared in their true colors. They were invited to platforms all over the country to plead their own cause. Men, almost without exception, of transparent character, their eloquence, their sincerity and kindliness made a favorable impression. All was going well. But the element of character was vital to the success of the home-rule cause. If, by a sudden revelation, it was found to be tainted with blackguardism after all, the cause was and is lost. It is for that reason that Mr. Parnell's retirement is essential, and Irishmen in every part of the world will do well to note the unanimous judgment of their most ardent friends and well-wishers in this country.

Under these circumstances, what has been the conduct of the Irish members? On the whole, it has been much to their credit, and among Liberals I have heard no harsh judgment passed, even on those early proceedings which have embarrassed the situation. The party rush to the Dublin meeting at which Mr. Parnell's conduct was condoned in a manner so effusive as to make its condemnation by the same men afterwards impossible, has had serious effects; but it was due to a generous impulse of personal loyalty and gratitude to a leader who had done his country great service. Since then the action of the majority of the members, including the American delegates, has attracted the sympathy and often the admiration of their Liberal colleagues. While the political wisdom of the course they have taken is demonstrable, it is also the first fruits of the improved relations between the two countries. It is a tremendous wrench for Irish members to oppose and renounce Mr. Parnell, but they also feel bound to the honest alliance of the Liberal party. The situation is a trying one for the Irish patriotic party, as it is called—perhaps the name may continue—and their English colleagues have been careful not to say a word that could make it more difficult.

At the same time the extreme prolongation of the debate as to Mr. Parnell's leadership and the acquiescence of the majority in his strategy have caused disappointment. The absence of Mr. Dillon and Mr. William O'Brien from the conclaves is a misfortune, and still more their inability to visit Ireland, where their voices would have had a power of rousing enthusiasm perhaps not inferior to that of Mr. Parnell himself. Outsiders are surprised that, after a week's discussion, the majority did not depose Mr. Parnell, and that they permitted a wholly irrelevant and new issue to be raised, which might lead, and which was obviously intended to lead, to fresh difficulties with the Liberal party and its leaders. It has appeared inexplicable how the majority could permit themselves to be outwitted and overborne, having among their number at least two men of exceptional ability in Mr. Healy, whose acuteness is probably not excelled by

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that of any man in the House, and Mr. Sexton. It looks as if the majority were not absolutely certain of their ground in Ireland. That illustrates the vice of the situation hitherto existing in Ireland, under which one man has had almost the whole representation of the country in his pocket. It may be hoped that current events will lead to a radical change. Also, it would almost seem to be a trait of Irish character that long trust in and obedience to a leader should constrain able and courageous men to permit themselves to be dominated by him even when they are attacking him.

Meanwhile, the proposal to open a new negotiation with Mr. Gladstone, in order to see whether his views are satisfactory, has excited some jealousy among Liberals. The least objection is that there is no ground or occasion for such a demand at present. On the one hand, there is no shadow of ground for insinuating that Mr. Gladstone is disposed to pare down the principles of the bill of 1886. Secondly, Mr. Parnell was satisfied with Mr. Gladstone's views as expressed at Hawarden, whatever they were. That cannot be denied. Thirdly, on the points mentioned there is really no room for serious disagreement. The Tories are in the meantime taking in hand the settlement of the land question, with the aid of Nationalist votes. The judiciary would certainly be placed under the Irish Government, and the constabulary, or civic forces, the same as in this island, would be given to the local authorities. But what Liberals object to is this, that when Mr. Gladstone was obliged to say that if Mr. Parnell was retained, he could not lead the party to victory with a policy of home rule, the Irish party, at Mr. Parnell's instance, reply by asking him for fresh assurances. It was freely said Saturday that he ought to decline to negotiate. But if there is one matter more than another in which his party may trust Mr. Gladstone, it is a matter of this kind. Even his desire to settle the Irish question is not greater than his diplomatic skill, and that is not greater than his courage and tenacity. The honor of the Liberal party is very safe in his hands.

While Mr. Gladstone was unquestionably in hearty sympathy with the verdict of the country on Mr. Parnell's leadership, to which he gave expression—even slander has never suggested the contrary—I have no doubt that he regards the loss of Mr. Parnell as a serious misfortune. While the latter now seeks to save himself by appealing to the extreme and unreasonable prejudices of a portion of his countrymen, he was, on his own showing, the advocate of a moderate and practicable settlement. He was at once the most reasonable and by far the most authoritative person with whom the Liberal leaders could treat. Therefore his loss is great. But if any English Liberals at first regretted the necessity of his disappearance, they are thoroughly alienated and revolted by his betrayal of confidence and his attempt to sacrifice his country to his personal pride.

The Tories are naturally jubilant. And in many quarters, from Lord Salisbury, who calls the Irish majority "a base pack," down to the *Times*, there is visible an indecent effort to give every support to Mr. Parnell for the sake of injuring the cause of Ireland. But out of the present troubles good may be expected to come—some good in any case; much good if the Irish majority stand firm to their guns. In the first place, the confidence of the people of this country in the Irish policy of Mr. Gladstone, and in his leadership generally, will be increased and cemented, and many doubts of a kind to which I have already referred will be removed. Secondly, if the Irish majority remains firm and is supported, as there seems good reason to hope, by their countrymen, the Irish Parliamentary party will be reconstructed on a new basis—absolutely independent of and separate from English parties, as it must continue to be, but representing Irish constituencies more truly than when so many were nominated by Mr. Parnell; reconstituted in the daylight, on a basis which the British elector can see round, and with no associations that are otherwise than honorable and patriotic.

The almost continual absence of the Nationalist party in a committee-room up stairs when the House was occupied chiefly with Irish measures, and the concentration of all interest on these proceedings, have enabled the Government to make extraordinary progress with their bills. The programme of work to be done before Christmas is already finished, and the House will probably rise on Monday, after sitting less than a fortnight. The bills dealt with in this short period have been important; but space does not permit me to comment upon them in this letter. C. D.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

ROME, November 28, 1890.

THE recent Italian general elections have turned out a surprise even to those who had most clearly measured the moral value of the position of the President of the Council, and were best acquainted with the tone of feeling among the Italian population. The most favorable estimate I had heard of the probable majority the Government could depend on, was about 100. The Radicals had been incessant in their attacks on Crispi for what they stigmatized as his servility towards Austria in the matter of the repression of the "Pro Patria," a redentist society in Trieste, and similar measures, and hatred of Austria has long been the red rag in the eyes of all ardent Italians; so that when the Prime Minister, in his Florence speech, boldly declared his faith in the *entente* with the hereditary enemy, and his determination to repress all demonstration of hostility to the alliance with her, and dismissed the Finance Minister in an exceptionally summary manner on account of his having taken part in a redentist banquet where a toast was offered of a tone strongly hostile to the Austrian Government, there was a very general feeling that the public opinion would be seriously affected by this attitude. The ultra-Conservatives were opposed to him from an apprehension of his dictatorial tendencies, and on every side the general depression of business and the heavy expenses of the Government were expected to favor an opposition of any kind. And all the hostility was for Crispi personally, none of the other ministers being called in question—it was Crispi against the field.

The result has been to show that the Italian constituencies have justified the opinion that there is a strong fund of common sense in the nation; that the people like a firm Government, and that the Triple Alliance is founded on the deliberate preference of the nation, for Crispi had in his Florence speech distinctly indicated that he meant to renew the Triple Alliance if he remained in power, and while he promised to impose no new taxes, he held out no hope that the present burthens necessary to enable the nation to fulfil the obligations the Alliance imposed on it, would be removed. The Radical, and even a portion of the Conservative, organs attacked him as if he had proclaimed himself dictator, and there were not wanting sincere friends who apprehended disaster from his bold manner of grasping a thorny problem.

It is now demonstrated that Crispi had correctly estimated the character of the Italian people, who had not been blinded by the appeals to momentary interests, and had correctly calculated the national advantage deriving from the Triple Alliance. Besides the hazards from the pending question of national policy and economy, Crispi had the double disadvantage of his former connection with the Radicals and withdrawal from them in the course of his official headship. This had enraged them to the highest degree, and their denunciations of him as a time-server and turncoat were only less bitter than the attacks of the clerical papers, and but little more hostile than those of the old Conservatives, like the *Perseveranza*. The combination left him dependent on the common sense of the mass of non-partisan Italians for the approbation of his action and programme for the future. Probably no statesman of his importance was ever placed in so apparently perilous a position, for he was on both wings outflanked and assailed by the two parties which happen to be those most convinced in their political faith, most energetic and best organized, the Radicals and the Clericals. Though the proclamation of *non expedit* from the Vatican did not permit the Clericals to enter into the lists as a party, or take any open part in the election, their canvassing against Crispi was very energetic, and it is certain that many did vote, considering, as do the Irish, that they are under no obligation to take their politics from the Vatican. Crispi, replying with no conciliatory language or measures to the attacks of either side, addressed himself to the moderate masses of the nation, made a clear programme, so that no questions should lie concealed in the future, and his victory exceeds all expectation. The Government has carried, according to the full returns this morning, 400 seats out of 508.

This settles the question of Crispi's popularity, which his enemies, sincere and insincere, have steadily represented as decreasing since he came to power, for the battle has been fought on personal lines throughout, the private character and morality of the premier having been as vigorously assailed as if he had been a candidate for President of the United States. The public measures of the Government have played a secondary part in the contest, and the other members of the Cabinet have hardly received the compliment of a word of abuse, and in no case have been arraigned as responsible for the disasters which were laid on the head of Crispi—the African expedition, the Triple Alliance, the military expenses, the suspension of trade with France by the rupture of the commercial conventions, etc.; all these measures having been imposed on the country for good or ill before Crispi's accession to power. There was serious apprehension of a strong show of Radical force in Milan and the Romagna with a solid vote against the Ministry in Naples, where the peremptory measures adopted by Crispi against the defaulting municipality and the peculations in the Bank of Naples had excited intense hostility in certain quarters. The suspension of the Roman municipality, too, had caused much irritation at the time and was expected to influence the Roman elections.

Fortunately for the Government, the French politicians had the fatuity to take an active part in the canvass and pronounce against Crispi, and put out a programme for a monument to Garibaldi, as if this would make the Italians forget Rome and Mentana. Moreover, to wind up the list of follies, Cernuschi, the

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Italian radical Republican, self-exiled and naturalized in France from hatred of the monarchy and the Piedmontese, sent 100,000 francs for the support of the Radical candidates and to break up the Triple Alliance. When one knows the intense jealousy that the Italian feels of any foreign interference and even criticism of the affairs of his country, he can easily imagine the rage that burst out on the publication of Cernuschi's letter. The Radicals were defeated even in Milan, which no one dreamed of being possible, and Cavallotti, their chief, who was at the head of the poll last election, came next the foot of it this time, and three Government candidates were elected. Venice went almost solid for the Government. Rome elected its candidates, and the minority candidate alone was carried by the Opposition, consisting of all the discontented, with the addition of the Jews, he being a Jew. Naples gave a majority of official deputies; and out of nearly 150 Radical candidates, only about 40 have been sent to Montecitorio, about a dozen of the most prominent having been defeated, with Napodano, an ultra-Conservative late deputy. Bonghi of the *Perseveranza* came in at the foot of his list. In fact, it has been the minority representation which has been the saving of many of the Radicals and some of the Conservatives who are elected, the elections being by the *scrutin de liste*, and no one being allowed to vote for the full number of deputies for the circumscription. Thus in Rome, in the first district there are five deputies, and if five names are contained on any ticket, the last is struck out when the votes are counted, the minority getting the fifth. In this way Barzilai came in for the minority in Rome, while but for this provision he would have had no chance of election. At Palermo, which is the district of Crispi, he ran ahead of his ticket three thousand votes, and he was elected in three or four other localities in Sicily. At Forlì, which is one of the foci of radicalism, Fortis, one of the late deputies and a warm personal friend of Crispi, and lately his Under Secretary for the Interior, was excommunicated by his party, and came in at the head of the list by a large advance; and, generally, the men who had made themselves prominent by their attacks on Crispi in the Chamber lost heavily on their vote, even if returned. This trims the plumage of many elected deputies.

If any hope was entertained of seeing the Triple Alliance dissolved in 1892 by any interested party, it may now be dismissed, and we may anticipate a steady pressure, probably increased by new adhesions to the Alliance, in favor of peace in Europe, or, what is always the possible alternative, the sudden precipitation of hostilities to anticipate the further strengthening of it. The Vatican, too, must now be convinced of the futility of making war on a minister who has the immense majority of Italians in his favor, and on whom its hostility has not had the least effect. If Crispi were a younger man, and not so hardened as he is to the vicissitudes of political life, there might be some apprehension that his majority would run away with him and carry him into measures which would cause a revolt; but he has been toughened by years of exile and opposition, with attacks on his personal character such as few Italians have had to endure. He does not hide his republican convictions, though he regards the House of Savoy as the strongest bond of Italian unity in the present stage of the national development; and he has been in the Radical ranks long enough to see that a Radical ascendency would mean the introduction of chaos in the Government, and that to govern with a Radical majority would be impossible, not merely on account of the country being in general of conservative inclinations, but because the Radicals could not unite in office. His evolution from the extreme Left, where I saw him for the first time in the Chamber on the wild day of the Dogali discussion, the only calm and self-possessed member in that sector of the Chamber, to his present position among the moderates and supported in his measures by most of the sound intellect of Italy, is due to the fact that his experience had taught him that it was a hopeless undertaking to attempt to organize the Radicals. There is a certain tendency in a portion of the Italian population, and especially in that part of it which has been so effective in the revolutionary stage of the making of Italy, to revolt against discipline and exalt individuality and refractoriness as virtues of the highest quality; and this temper, bred in the period of arbitrary government, breaking out into constant revolt and conspiracy, has been prolonged in its existence into a time when it has ceased to be a civic virtue, and is now in the service of the Radical party—a force grown into a disease. Crispi was, till the unity of Italy was attained, one of these revolters, and the habits and associations of forty years (for he began in 1848) do not easily release a man. Nothing better shows his force of character than this evolution in politics, accomplished in the face of hostility of every kind, and the feat of winning the enthusiastic confidence of the entire nation, in spite, too, of sectional animosities which it was supposed would always prevent a Sicilian and a Piedmontese working in harmony in the Cabinet. Bismarck's success was far easier, for Crispi had not only the country to win over, but the King, who looked on this Sicilian firebrand with a certain apprehension, due to his former political associations; and I remember that a diplomatic friend said to me when there was first question of his coming into the Ministry, four or five years ago, that, speaking to the King on the subject and intimating that Crispi might be an unwelcome Minister, the King replied, "We had better have him with us than against us." I believe it is a matter of common knowledge that Crispi now enjoys the confidence of the sovereign completely. The elections have shown that he has won that of the country in all sections. Bismarck governed a king, and Crispi governs a country. X.

Correspondence.

SO MUCH THE BETTER FOR THE ART.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Will you kindly correct the statement, on page 464 of the *Nation*, made by your reviewer, that I used photos for the drawings in 'From Charing Cross to St. Paul's'? The drawings were made, every line of them, as Mr. McCarthy says, "on the spot," in the midst of a London crowd, without any photographic aids whatever.

Your respectfully, Joseph Pennell.

The Art Club of Philadelphia, Dec. 16, 1890.

[We hasten to apologize for what proves to have been a rash judgment. It seemed incredible to us that drawings so elaborate could have been done under the conditions indicated by Mr. McCarthy. That they were so done proves that Mr. Pennell is even more clever as an artist than we thought him.—Ed. Nation.]

THE WASHINGTON WILLS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I must point out an error in my introduction to the old Washington Wills (*Nation*, December 18). The power of attorney is obviously not "signed by the widow of Col. John Washington," but of "Capt." John Washington. This was probably the son of the immigrant John; for though both of the immigrants had sons named John, it will be seen by Lawrence's will that his cousin John was living in Stafford County. I have seen no account of Col. John's second son, of whom we now learn that his wife was named Ann; also that he died about the close of 1697, his children being remembered (as will be observed) in the will of Lawrence, who was probably his half-brother. The title given him, "Captain," suggests that he may be referred to in the following, sent by Mr. I. J. Greenwood to the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Jan., 1890: "1686, Aug. 2. John Washington, master of the sloop *Two Sisters*, having imported some brandy which had not been landed in England, had informa lodged against him in Co. of Adm. for violaⁿ of navigation laws."—Col. Doc. of N. Y. xxxiv. p. 40.

Moncure D. Conway.

New York, December 18, 1890.

GRACE AT WASHINGTON'S TABLE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It gives me pleasure to be able to throw some light upon the subject of Washington's custom in the matter of saying grace at table, about which Mr. Moncure D. Conway and "S. C. C." are at odds. The former, in a letter to the *Nation* (December 12, 1890), expresses doubt as to the story told by the Rev. E. C. McGuire in his 'Religious Opinions and Character of Washington' (1836), that Washington once asked a blessing at table when a clergyman was present. That story is true. The clergyman was the Rev. William McWhir, who at one time had the charge of a school at Alexandria of which Washington was a trustee. Dr. McWhir had, as pupils at his school, two nephews of Washington, about whom he carried on a correspondence with the General. One of the letters of the General to the Doctor is printed in full in Sparks's 'Writings of Washington,' vol. x., p. 37. Dr. McWhir was my great step-grandfather, having married my grandmother, Mary Baker, the widow of Col. John Baker, a Revolutionary soldier, of Liberty County, in this State. He visited Washington at Mount Vernon frequently, and wrote an account of the incidents mentioned by McGuire. Here is an extract from it:

"A few days after Gen. Washington's return to Mt. Vernon, I visited him in company with a countryman of mine, Col. Fitzgerald, one of Washington's aids. At the table, Mrs. Washington sat at the head, and Maj. Washington at the foot; the General sat next Mrs. Washington on her left. He called upon me to ask a blessing before meat. When the cloth was about to be removed, he returned thanks himself. Mrs. Washington, with a smile, said: 'My dear, you forgot that you had a clergyman dining with you to-day.' With equal pleasantness he replied: 'My dear, I wish clergymen, and all men, to know that I am not a *graceless* man.'"

Respectfully, Wm. Harden,
Librarian Ga. Hist. Society.

Savannah, Ga., December 13, 1890.

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JOHN BROWN'S FAMILY COMPACT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I observe in your issue of December 4 a reference to an article in the December number of the *Andover Review*, entitled "John Brown, Practical Shepherd," as tending to disprove the early origin of John Brown's plan to attack slavery by force of arms as set forth in my 'Life and Letters of John Brown.' Having sent a copy of this article to John Brown, jr., I received a reply from which I will thank you to insert the following extracts:

"It is, of course, impossible for me to say when such idea and plan first entered his [John Brown's] mind and became a purpose; but I can say with certainty that he first informed his family that he entertained such purpose while we were yet living in Franklin, O. (now called Kent), and before he went to Virginia, in 1840, to survey the lands which had been donated by Arthur Tappan to Oberlin College; and this was certainly as early as 1839. The place and the circumstances where he first informed us of that purpose are as perfectly in my memory as any other event in my life. Father, mother, Jason, Owen, and I were, late in the evening, seated around the fire in the open fire-place of the kitchen, in the old Haymaker house where we then lived; and there he first informed us of his determination to make war on slavery—not such war as Mr. Garrison informs us 'was equally the purpose of the non-resistant abolitionists,' but war by force and arms. He said that he had long entertained such a purpose—that he believed it his duty to devote his life, if need be, to this object, which he made us fully to understand. After spending considerable time in setting forth in most impressive language the hopeless condition of the slave, he asked who of us were willing to make common cause with him in doing all in our power to 'break the jaws of the wicked and pluck the spoil out of his teeth'? Naming each of us in succession, 'Are you, Marv, John, Jason, and Owen'? Receiving an affirmative answer from each, he kneeled in prayer, and all did the same. This posture in prayer impressed me greatly as it was the first time I had ever known him to assume it. After prayer he asked us to raise our right hands, and he then administered to us an oath, the exact terms of which I cannot recall, but in substance it bound us to secrecy and devotion to the purpose of fighting slavery by force and arms to the extent of our ability. According to Jason's recollections, Mr. Fayette, a colored theological student at Western Reserve College (Hudson, Ohio), was with us at the time; but of this I am not certain. He was often at our house. As to the others, I know they were present, and if my affidavit could add any strength to my statement I am ready to make it any time. At that time Jason was about sixteen years old, Owen, between fourteen and fifteen; and I was between eighteen and nineteen years of age.

"If there had not afterwards been an opening for slavery in Kansas, it is possible his attack upon it in the States would have been longer delayed; but he was not the man to abandon the most deeply cherished purpose of his life. He would have played his hand even if he played it alone."

I may add that these statements were made to me, some years before the publication of my book, by John Brown, jr., and similar ones by Mrs. Mary Brown, Jason Brown, and Owen Brown.

F. B. Sanborn.

Concord, Mass., December 20, 1890.

McKINLEY VS. WOMAN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The revolution of November 4 has been ascribed to the influence of women who have misunderstood the blessings of a high tariff, but whose opposition to the McKinley Act will cease when they come to know it better. Unfortunately for this hope, the act is so full of surprises, of new and startling invasions of the familiar order of things, that by the time indignation over one feature has subsided, it flashes out again at some other unexpected freak of the taxing power, and one may doubt if women are at all likely to be reconciled to it in a hurry.

Take, for instance, the wearing-apparel clause in the free list. Under the old law, as construed in Astor v. Merritt, 111 U. S. 202, Americans returning from abroad could bring in for their own use free of duty all the clothes they were likely to need for some time to come; but this very sensible recognition of the importance of dress in feminine eyes was, to the austere and frivolity-hating McKinley, to connive at a taking of the accursed thing, and in future the exemption "shall not be held to include articles not actually in use and necessary and appropriate for the use of such persons *for the purposes of their journey* and present comfort and convenience." Certainly a majority of the many thousand Americans who cross the Atlantic from time to time are women, and most of the men (such is the domestic character of our people) are accompanied by their womenfolk. Nine-tenths of all the tourists, probably, are interested directly or indirectly in bringing over the productions of the dressmakers and milliners of Paris and London. Imagine the heart-rending scenes at the wharves next autumn, when the returning tide of travel is at its height—the lamentations, the lacerated feelings, the rage, the horrors of the women, and the "curses not loud but deep" of the men, when these treasures from the Bon Marché and the Louvre, from Louise, and Redfern, and Marshal and Snelgrove, are unpacked, tumbled about, and taxed by the obdurate and McKinley-hearted inspector. Imagine what it will be the following autumn, when the women come back who have been trying to make up, by shopping abroad, for two years of McKinley prices at home; and just before election, too!

It will not do for the fashion-scorning McKinley to say that these are the rich and pampered, who ought of right to be taxed for the benefit of our starving monopolists and necessitous but deserving Trusts. The habit of foreign travel is national, and people in modest circumstances form the majority of those who go abroad as well as of those who stay at home. Whatever the length of the purse, the love of foreign fashions is the same, and the school-teacher who is mulcted on her few new dresses will hate McKinley even more than the millionairess.

Then there is another thing that appeals most strongly to women — embroidery and other decorations for churches; articles which the Old World can as yet supply much better than the New. Under the liberal construction of the old law, the church "regalia" of the free list included almost everything for the adornment of a church or for use in the services, but now, filled evidently with contempt for everything bordering on ritualism, the masculine and high-priced McKinley has strictly limited "regalia" to "such insignia of rank or office or emblems as may be worn upon the person or borne in the hand during public exercises of the society or institution." Armed with new powers, the Custom-house will henceforth lay its profane hand on the altar-cloths, the dosels, the frontels, the antependia, the stained glass, and all that gratifies the religious and artistic senses. Imagine the feelings of the parish guild when the English altar-cloth, bought with the fruits of so much pious toil and consecrated to the highest uses, is made to pay tribute to Cæsar! Imagine the guild's male relatives voting to continue this iconoclasm!

"Whether the fair one sinner it or saint it," McKinley is equally her foe; but, to judge by last month's work at least, the contest would seem to be one in which the women would not come off second best.

Charles C. Binney.

Philadelphia, December 18, 1890.

CENSUS-TAKING IN GERMANY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It may not be uninteresting to some of your readers to learn the manner in which the German Government has so systematically and simultaneously conducted its census during the last twelve hours. And it may also afford some amusement to observers of the late American census, to make comparisons between the two. That the truth, whole and intact, can be ascertained concerning some forty-odd millions in this short space of time may seem an impossibility. Yet such is the task which these lovers of statistics are understood to have accomplished between 12 P. M. November 30, and 12 A. M. December 1.

The Government asked persons willingly and without hope of compensation to collect the facts necessary for the compilation of the census. Each single house was expected to furnish its volunteer for the task, and it was his duty to see that every question was carefully answered. Two days before the close of November the census questions were handed to every member of the household. Between midnight of November 30 and noon of December 1, these questions were to be answered in writing, and soon after twelve A. M. of December 1 they were to be collected and confided to the several appointed officials in the different districts. Such was the programme for ascertaining the exact number of persons, irrespective of nationality, living in Germany in the twelve hours already named.

The following questions were asked:

Document A had especial reference to the resident inhabitant, and an attachment dealt particularly with the infants, concerning whom the inquisitiveness was exceedingly pointed. The parent was expected to tell whether the child had been nourished by its mother's milk or by a nurse or by the milk of animals, and since when the child had received other nourishment than milk.

Next came a form of questions headed B, with reference to the house, the number of rooms, the number of stories, what windows faced the street, what rooms were heated in winter or not, and other questions of a like order. Attached to this paper were queries as to the movements of the family from house to house during its residence in Berlin.

The religious views of the people were considered especially essential to perfect the record. The citizen was carefully instructed not to answer the question, "What is your religion?" by the simple answer, "Evangelical, Catholic," etc., but to state precisely his religious principles. The Government desires to know whether one belongs to the old or the separated Lutherans, to the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, as well as the Jewish Church; but there was left no alternative for the atheist—at least, none but religious answers were called for. Some comment is made upon this rigid questioning concerning religious convictions as an attempt on the part of the Government to learn about the anti-Semitic tendencies in Germany.

The answers called for concerning those members of the family occupied with military service were not remarkably stringent. Yet if a member of a household should be in the marine or military service, it was necessary to

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state under which regimental commander or naval officer he was placed; and the physician who was responsible for attendance on the man in case of sickness was also to be named in answering.

The transient residents also underwent a strict in-gathering, and for this reason: Berlin's population, it is thought, will be somewhat exaggerated on account of visiting medical men studying Dr. Koch's cure of tuberculosis. Men on the road also did not escape. Railway officials, railway workingmen, postal clerks and passengers, who were compelled to be in motion after twelve P. M. of November 30 were registered as inhabitants of their first stopping-place next morning. Any child that was born after twelve P. M. November 30 was not to be reckoned in the census; and any person who was alive one hour before midnight of November 30 was to be considered as an able-bodied resident of Germany, although he may have died one minute after twelve P. M.

The languages of the different inhabitants are to be fully known. One was expected to state whether he speaks the Polish, Dutch, or Danish, or a dialect of the same, or whether he speaks simply the German language. The avowed object of these questions is to ascertain who are and who are not *echt Deutsch*.

The Berliners assert that the present census has been heretofore unexcelled as far as conciseness is concerned. The census of five years ago was considered unsatisfactory in many of its details, and the faulty points are supposed to have been corrected in the one of to-day. By the latter, statistics will be furnished showing the number of persons living upon their incomes, the number of those pensioned by the Government or by private corporations, the exact laboring population, including women and children who work for wages; the student enrolment, the criminal, insane, and pauper population, as well as many minor social details concerning trades, professions, health-conditions, imperfect physical existence, etc. It has been done inexpensively, by voluntary labor partially, and with certainty, security, and celerity. J. F. WILLARD.

BERLIN, December 1, 1890.

H DISPLACED AND MISPLACED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the Epilogue to Terence's *Phormio*, as played at Westminster School in 1814, our Senators and Chief Justice are bespattered in the following terms:

"Nempe senatores pistrinum et ganea mittunt;
Optimus et Judex maximus est nebulo."

That depicters of us belonging to the generation which indulged in such heroic flights of fancy, or applauded them, would represent our pronunciation, like everything else of ours, as of the basest, was almost a matter of course. And such a representation was not wanting; inasmuch as one of them, to illustrate the depth of our vulgarity, goes so far as to speak of "the ideous Hamerican abit of habusing *haitch*." But this should occasion us no surprise. Even at the present day, it seems as if, in the opinion of many persons on this side of the Atlantic, the birth of bad English both synchronized and synchorized with the Declaration of Independence.

A recent speculator, whose abundant self-confidence is a poor compensation for his meagreness of research, would have the world believe that he can adjudicate conclusively, as a chronologist, on the subject of this communication. I refer to Mr. T. L. Kington Oliphant, author of *The New English*, published in 1886. In vol. ii., p. 202, of that production, criticising the language of a novel by Miss Hawkins, which came out in 1811, he says: "We now find tricks played with the letter *h*; the evil habit was just coming in, which has now overspread the whole land south of Yorkshire." After specifying, from Miss Hawkins's pages, *himpeeral* and *ot*, attributed to ignorant speakers, for *imperial* and *hot*, he adds: "These are early instances of the vilest of all our corruptions in speech."

Without in the least supposing that I have discovered when the depraved style of enunciation above exemplified had its origin, I can show that Mr. Oliphant, in order to ascertain when it "was just coming in," should have turned over books dating some considerable time prior to 1811. At least twenty-five years before, it was common enough. In 1786, Mrs. A. M. Bennett brought out her *Juvenile Indiscretions*, in which occur:

Ardened, *anged*, *hill* (ill). Vol. i., pp. 69, 70, 170 *Arpsichore* (harpsichord), *hoprers* (operas), *asn't* (hasn't). Vol. iii., pp. 79, 80, 114. *Hingaged* (engaged), *hindeed*, *hin* (in). Vol. v., pp. 212, 213, 214.

Elsewhere, in the same volumes, are *ham*, *han*, *har*, *has*, *hefidence* (evidence), *hi* (I), *his*, *hispecs* (expects), *hold*, for *am*, *and*, *are*, etc.

Again, in her *Beggar Girl*, the same prolific Mrs. Bennett, one of the chief purveyors to the long-popular Minerva Press, credits her more illiterate characters with *andsome*, *appened*, *appy*, *ardly*, *im*, *ope* (hope), *ouse*, *hal* (all), *hark* (ark), *Heden*, *hobjecks* (objects), *hod* (odd), and so on. John Williams, in his *Life of the late Earl of Barrymore* (1793), p. 64, gives "*helegant* amusements" as a specimen of the pronunciation of a greengrocer in St. Giles's.

From what has here been set forth it is made clear that, among the uneducated, the peculiarity under discussion was thoroughly established fourteen years, if not longer, before the beginning of this century. By no means, then, was it, in 1811, "just coming in," as Mr. Oliphant asserts. In passing, happy would it be, for most of us, if we could be as sure of anything as that absolute gentleman appears to be of well-nigh everything.

As regards his statement that this "evil habit . . . has now overspread the whole land south of Yorkshire," I have only to say that, here in Suffolk, the veriest rustics are quite free from its contamination, though, as near me as Norwich, the case is otherwise.

Your obedient servant,
F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENG., November 7, 1890.

P. S. In my last letter I might have strengthened my argument by adducing *indifferentist* and *obscurantist*, based on *indifferentia* and the factitious *obscurantia*.

Notes.

EXTRA-illustrated editions of Mrs. Oliphant's well-known books, 'The Makers of Florence' and 'The Makers of Venice,' have been in preparation for some time past by Macmillan & Co., but it has been found impossible to get the books ready for the holiday trade this year. The first of the series will be issued at an early date.

Harper & Bros. are about to publish Lamb's 'Tales from Shakspere's Comedies,' copiously annotated by Dr. W. J. Rolfe, with a view, in part, to its serving as an introduction to Shakspere.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will shortly bring out a one-volume edition of Lowell's 'Biglow Papers'; 'A Psalm of Death, and Other Poems,' by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell; and 'Francis Wayland,' in the series of "American Religious Leaders," by Prof. James O. Murray of Princeton.

'Mechanism and Personality,' by Prof. Francis A. Shoup of the University of the South, and the first two extant books of Quintus Curtius, edited for sight-reading by Dr. Harold N. Fowler, are in the press of Ginn & Co., Boston.

John Wiley & Sons have in preparation 'The Engine-Runner's Catechism,' by Robert Grimshaw.

Dr. William H. Milburn, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, and Mr. Charles Burr Todd in collaboration have nearly ready for the press a work entitled 'The Mississippi Valley: Chapters on its Explorers, Pioneers, Preachers, and People,' in which anecdote and reminiscence will have a large part.

The final publication of the results of the German excavations at Olympia has at last been announced. The work, which will be monumental in more senses than one, is to be published through Asher & Co. of Berlin, and will consist of five volumes of text, in quarto size, four folio volumes of plates, and a portfolio of maps and plans. The subjects will be divided as follows: History, one volume, text, by Curtius and Adler, 35 marks; Architecture, one volume of text and two volumes of plates, by Adler, Dörpfeld, Graeber, Graef, and Borrmann, 500 marks; Sculpture in stone, one volume each of text and plates, by Treu, 300 marks; Bronzes and small objects, one volume each of text and plates, by Furtwängler, 300 marks; Inscriptions, with numerous facsimiles, one volume of text, 50 marks; maps, plans, etc., in portfolio, 35 marks. The total cost of the work will, therefore, amount to 1,200 marks, or about $300; and there is no doubt that every resource of art and science will be called upon to make it the greatest archæological publication that has yet been attempted. The volumes on the bronzes will be the first to appear.

'Greek Pictures, in Pen and Pencil' (New York: Fleming H. Revell) belongs to the class suggestively designated as gift-books, with the idea of which gaudy covers seem to be inevitably associated. In the present case we have a golden Parthenon against a red sky, with a modern composition of equally marvellous splendor in the foreground. The text is by Prof. Mahaffy, which insures its being entertaining and instructive. Much of it has appeared in his 'Rambles and Studies in Greece.' The illustrations, which are numerous, vary from the pretty bad to the very bad—with the exception of a few capital figures sketched by F. D. Millet.

J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, are the American publishers of 'The Threshold of Science,' by C. R. Alder Wright. It contains a great number of attractive experiments, clearly described and systematically arranged, "illustrating some of the chief physical and chemical properties of surrounding objects, and the effect upon them of light and heat." It will certainly be welcomed by teachers of elementary science, to whom the simple apparatus employed and the abundant examples available for instruction will be specially acceptable. It will find favor also with the large class of persons to whom such experiments are merely matters of amusement and fleeting interest, and who may be disposed to say to the professed man of science, "Because thou art great, shall there be no cakes and ale" It is possible, too, that some minds may receive from the book an incentive to earnest scientific study. Making, however, all allowances, we

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still think that good scientific text-books are much to be preferred to works of this kind, and that thorough teaching is best even for a beginner.

'The Best Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu' is the newest of the "Laurel-Crowned" series of A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. "Octave Thanet" supplies a frank biographical sketch, sympathetically giving it the form of a "letter to dead authors." A volume of the same pretty order, and but a shade smaller in size, has been made of Bacon's Essays by the same house. Prof. Melville B. Anderson has edited the text with no little pains after the last edition printed in Bacon's lifetime, taking some liberties with the punctuation and the paragraphing. He also furnishes a bibliographical introduction, with some remarks on Bacon's style and on the crazy identification of him with Shakspere.

Vols. vii. and viii. of *Scribner's Magazine* for the current year contain foretastes of several books, now well known, in the papers on Ericsson, on Electricity, on the Footprints of Charles Lamb, etc. We recall also the valuable series on the Rights of the Citizen and on City, Suburban and Country Houses. Africa received ample consideration in the narratives of Mr. Stanley (with a capital portrait), Mr. Herbert Ward, and Mr. Thomas Stevens. Dr. Wright's article on the wonderful image discovered at Nampa below the lava-beds of Idaho is a landmark in the discussion of the age of the human race and of the formation of this continent. A voyage down the Grand Cañon of the Colorado is another memorable incident, beautifully illustrated. Finally, in these volumes are to be found almost the last writings of the late Eugene Schuyler.

Mr. Horace W. Fuller's "useless but entertaining magazine for lawyers," the *Green Bag*, has survived its second year and bound its second volume (The Boston Book Co.). Its illustrated articles on the leading law schools of the country have been kept up, with the aid of much interesting portraiture, and there has been a parallel series on the courts of final appeal. The *causes célèbres* have been extended from 13 to 21. The obituary column has been well looked after. Facetiæ, legal antiquities, book notices, and the rhymed cases of Mr. Irving Browne and others combine to make up the mélange which seems to receive the suffrages of the profession. This periodical is handsomely printed.

Babyhood, a monthly magazine for mothers, completes its sixth volume (New York: Babyhood Publishing Co.), and maintains its title to the confidence and gratitude of its readers. The table of contents shows a large array of medical talent among the contributors, both male and female. The correspondence is, as usual, of great variety and practical value. Cuts are freely employed in every department of the magazine.

The city authorities of Boston have published from the plates a new (third) edition of the late Mayor Shurtleff's 'Topographical and Historical Description of Boston'; and to Mr. W. H. Whitmore, as Chairman of the Record Commissioners, has been allotted the bringing the work up to date by means of a long prefatory note. The great fire of 1872 in particular made this revision imperative; hence a map of the Burnt District has been inserted, with a new facsimile of Bonner's map of 1722, a facsimile of a hitherto inedited map of 1711, very rare and valuable, a map of the islands in the harbor, and much cartographical information about the old city and its recent annexations. Three views of Boston in 1764, possessing the highest interest and authenticity, are reproduced for the first time. The artist was a grand-uncle of the poet Byron. Mr. Whitmore's survey of the city's growth and embellishment deserves the attention of other municipalities, and we may instance the unparalleled park system, which, as the writer says, has been carried out by successive Commissioners without taint of jobbery of any kind.

We are pleased to find in the *Belletristisches Journal* for December 17 a letter to the editor setting forth the need and field of usefulness of a German Historical Association in this city, signed by well-known names of the younger and the elder generation of German citizens—native Germans and German-Americans. The editor desires that would-be members of such an organization should address him under cover of "Geschichtsverein, P. O. box 1680."

The Paris *Réforme Sociale* for December 1 prints a paper read before the (French) Canadian Society of Social Economy by Father Augier, his theme being "The American Republic, wherein it is admirable, seductive, and dangerous." The writer formed his impressions during a brief journey in the United States, and they are on the whole favorable enough. He notices the clause of the Constitution divorcing the Government from religious establishments, but consoles himself with an imaginary reference to the Sabbath in the second article of that instrument, implying respect for the institution of Sunday, and hence a recognition and acceptance of Christianity. Had he avoided this error and gone a little deeper, he might have made some pregnant observations on our army and navy chaplaincies, which give a natural advantage to the sect possessing a liturgy.

The London *Times* prints a letter from its correspondent with the Mashonaland Expedition of the British South Africa Company, summarizing what it has accomplished. It consisted of some 700 men who have cut a "good, serviceable road" over 400 miles in length, crossing several large streams by substantial "drifts" and smaller ones by corduroy bridges, "without the loss of one single life, either in the hospital or in the field." A fort has been built, a Government and a postal service has been established, and some 300 men are now actively engaged in prospecting for gold. "From all sides reports of the most promising and encouraging nature come in of reefs being struck and shafts being sunk, and applications are made daily for the due registration of claims under the terms of the company's mining laws." It is proposed by the company to send out some thoroughly competent archæologist to examine the remarkable ruins of Zimbabye in the gold region, supposed by some to be of Egyptian origin. Meanwhile, the greatest precautions have been taken to preserve the ruins from injury.

A summary of the scientific results of the Stanley Expedition by Prof. Fried. Ratzel is begun in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for November, the subjects treated being the mountains, the river courses, and Lake Albert Edward. This is followed by an account of Lake Molveno in the Tyrol and a review of the Arctic voyager Nordenskiöld's 'Facsimile Atlas,' a work on the early history of cartography, containing reproductions of more than one hundred and fifty of the most important maps printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is also a brief notice of the new edition of 'Stieler's Hand-Atlas,' together with an interesting proof-map of the Pacific Coast States, so colored as to show the parts newly engraved, as well as the corrections and additions made since the edition of 1872. Reference is also made to the omission of a great number of places which have ceased to exist, "a more frequent occurrence in the United States than in any other part of the world at the present time." A supplemental number contains an account by Lieut. von Höhnel of Count Teleki's expedition to Lake Rudolf in Eastern Equatorial Africa, the subject most fully treated being the ethnography of the regions traversed. The author separates the natives, according to their languages, into three distinct races, the Bantu, which include the tribes about Kilimanjaro; the Nilotic, of which the Masai are the most important and aggressive representatives; and the Hamitic, which include the Gallas. These are carefully described and their habitat given. Some admirable route maps accompany the monograph.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December opens with a paper on a "Railway through Southern Persia," by Gen. Sir F. J. Goldsmid. While the development of Persia is one object, the principal aim of the proposed line, which would run from Baghdad through Shustar, Shiraz, and Bandar Abbas to Karachi, is to open communication with India. The significant hint is dropped that the concession of right of way from the seaboard of Syria to the Turko-Persian frontier may be reserved for a *quid pro quo* for the abandonment of Egypt. Mr. W. Pilcher, in an account of a recent trip through Spanish Honduras, predicts a brilliant future for the republic on account of its vast mineral wealth, the rapid increase of its exportations of cattle and fruit, and the suitability of its soil for the profitable cultivation of coffee and the sugar-cane.

The principal article in the December Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society is an extremely interesting account by Mr. H. H. Johnston of his recent journey to Nyassaland, where he was sent by the Foreign Office to bring to an end the war between the Arabs and the African Lakes Company. He entered the Zambesi by the newly discovered Chinde mouth, upon which he reports favorably, and which is evidently destined to be the main avenue of approach to Central Africa from the eastern coast. On the upper Shire he passed through a district which, though inhabited by nominal Mohammedans and rigidly guarded from all forms of European alcohol, he describes as the "most drunken part of Africa I ever travelled in." With great difficulty and some danger, he made his way to within three or four miles of the shore of Rukwa, a large salt lake of unknown extent lying to the eastward of Tanganyika. He descended to it by means of a ravine, the soil and rocks of which were of a blood-red color, the bed of a once-important river which had only recently dried up. The rain supply, according to the natives, suddenly ceased within the last two or three years. Of a great part of the territory between the two great lakes now under British influence he speaks enthusiastically as well adapted to European colonization. The most desirable portions, rich grazing lands on which now roam innumerable herds of large game, are practically uninhabited.

—"Our Northern Frontier" is the subject of a striking and suggestive article in the November *Journal of the Military Service Institution*. The author, Lieut. A. D. Schenck, has no difficulty in showing our utterly defenceless condition in case of a war with Canada, and the immense advantages which our opponent would have over us in nearly every respect. By the treaty of 1817 we can maintain on the great lakes only four vessels "not exceed-

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ing one hundred tons' burden, and armed with one eighteen-pounder cannon," one each on Lakes Ontario and Champlain, and two on the upper lakes. Our only present waterway to these upper lakes is the Erie Canal, through which boats 100 feet long and 225 tons burden can pass, while the Canadian canals permit vessels of 1,500 tons to reach the head of Lake Superior. Our navy would, of course, at the outset be unavailable, while in the English navy there are 111 vessels, three of them armored, which in a fortnight after the declaration of war could take undisputed possession of Lakes Ontario and Erie. And when the great canal system of the Ottawa and French Rivers is completed, the vessels can enter Lake Huron with equal ease. It is hardly necessary to add that this possession of the lakes means the absolute command of the cities on the shores, whatever the land forces gathered to defend them. The author puts the value of destructible property within the reach of a hostile fleet at $1,000,000,000, which does not seem an extravagant estimate. The Canadian militia, which includes all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of eighteen and sixty, number 830,000, or nearly 300,000 in the first class or line. These men would have the inestimable advantage over our militia in that their officers would be mainly taken from the 14,000 trained officers of the English regular army, and for their armament there are now in England "not less than 600,000 stand of approved arms" "in store or packed ready for shipment to any part of the world." "Within ten days from the date of notification, therefore, the arms and ammunition would be at Toronto, London, or the Welland Canal for distribution to the troops, in place of the Snyder rifles." Considering the fact that we are doing absolutely nothing for the defence of this northern frontier, either in building or garrisoning our forts, or in constructing or enlarging our canals, and considering our generally unprepared condition in case of war, and the thorough preparation of our neighbor backed by the army and navy of Great Britain, the author does not put the case too strongly in asserting that "this country is bound over hand and foot and under heavy bonds to keep the peace of nations, even with a neighbor apparently so insignificant as the Dominion of Canada."

—The *Academy* of November 29, 1890, contains a very interesting and important communication from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, the accomplished Assyriologist of the British Museum. In the collections brought to the museum by Mr. Rassam he has found a clay tablet, with a bilingual inscription, an incantation-text, of the obverse of which he offers a translation "to a certain extent provisional." This turns out to be a new version of the Babylonian creation-history, presenting curious resemblances to the account in Genesis ii. It begins by saying that there was a time when the glorious house of the gods had not been made, nor any plant, tree, brick, beam, house, or city, nor Niffer nor Erech, nor the abyss, nor Eridu; then on a certain day Marduk made Eridu, Esagila within the abyss, Babylon, the gods, the spirits of earth, the glorious city of the gods, earth and water, mankind, wild beasts, the Tigris and the Euphrates, plants, lands and marshes, and domestic animals. The text is unfortunately imperfect, though Mr. Pinches thinks that not much of importance is lost. The creation-texts hitherto published derive all things from the primitive water, and in general follow the line of the account in Genesis i.; the new text, in its outline, reminds us strongly of the very different narrative of Genesis ii., especially in that the creation of man does not follow, but precedes, that of beasts and plants. The "seat of joy of heart" in which the gods are made to dwell, appears to connect itself with the Eden of Genesis. It had been surmised that such a Babylonian creation-history existed, and this inscription may be said to make the surmise a certainty. Whether the story in Genesis ii. is old Hebrew, or is borrowed from Babylonian sources, is a point on which Biblical critics are not at one; but of the close connection between the Babylonian and Hebrew histories there can be no doubt. As to the relation between the two versions (the two Babylonian that correspond to Gen. i. and Gen ii.), Mr. Pinches thinks that the latter belongs to the mystery-loving, incantation-using Akkadians, and the former to the poetic, legend-loving Semitic Babylonians. On this delicate and much-disputed question it might be rash to venture an opinion, but we may hope that new discoveries will without long delay supply material which will make decision easier. All persons interested in the subject will feel grateful to Mr. Pinches for this new contribution to our knowledge. He will no doubt publish the cuneiform text immediately.

—Under the editorship of Prof. A. B. Hart, a series of "Harvard Historical Monographs" has been begun through the publication-house of Ginn & Co. The first of these, by Mr. Edward Campbell Mason, is now before us under the title of 'The Veto Power; Its Origin, Development, and Function in the Government of the United States.' Mr. Mason considers that this power originated as part of the power to make laws, the legislative body having the right either to accept or to reject a proposed enactment. Down to about the time of Edward III., the King legislated as well as administered, but from that period it became customary for him to proclaim laws only when requested to do so by Parliament. For a time the laws granted by the King were not responsive to the petitions, but eventually the Commons hit upon the plan of framing their petition in the language of a bill, so that the King might find it convenient to assent to it in the precise form in which it was presented to him. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this custom had become fixed, so that the positive power of legislation was practically absorbed by the Commons, leaving the King only the negative power of disapproval. This power, too, disappeared as Cabinet government was developed, and "never since 1708 has the signature of the sovereign been refused to a measure which has obtained a majority of both houses of Parliament." Mr. Mason's sketch of this historical process would perhaps gain in clearness if he were to emphasize the existence of two legislative powers, the Council and the King; the former being at times practically deprived by the latter of the negative power of legislation —if not, indeed, of the positive power as well —but gradually reversing the tendency, and absorbing finally both of these powers. But, as Mr. Mason points out, the negative power of the Crown maintained itself in colonial affairs long after it had disappeared in the mother country; and, owing to this fact, as well as to the fact that the disappearance was unobserved by constitutional writers in England, the power was treated by our statesmen as existing in the executive at the time of the separation of the colonies. They regarded it, therefore, as a necessary part of the theory of balanced powers in government, and thus, to sum the matter up in a word, the veto power was introduced into the Constitution of the United States.

—It is to be added that between the King and the Colonial Governors a good deal of positive legislation had taken place on this side of the sea, so that limitations of the executive power were much favored during the Revolutionary period. In the first State governments formed, and under the Articles of Confederation, the veto power was not tolerated; in four of our States it does not now exist, and in several others a majority vote is sufficient to pass a vetoed bill. It would be interesting to inquire into the causes which have made the exercise of this power more popular in recent times, but the limits of Mr. Mason's plan would not admit of an extended discussion of this question. He has preferred to undertake the useful but extremely laborious task of examining and classifying all the vetoes of the Presidents of the United States. They are criticised as affecting the form, or the distribution of the powers, of government, or the exercise of these powers; and chapters are added upon the constitutional procedure as to vetoes, and the political development of the power. Several appendixes and a full index render this monograph extremely serviceable for reference, and it may be especially commended to journalists as affording material wherewith to point their political comparisons.

—By the death of Carl Gustav Helqvist, which occurred at Berchtesgaden, in the Bavarian Highlands, on November 20, Sweden has lost a great historical painter, and a once prominent figure has disappeared for ever from the Scandinavian artist colony in Munich. The deceased was born, the son of a poor shoemaker, December 15, 1851, at Kungsör, on Lake Mälar. In the eleventh year of his age he was sent to Stockholm and apprenticed to the scene-painter Ahlgrenson, and in 1864 entered a class in the Royal Academy for the purpose of perfecting himself in the art of theatrical decoration. Soon, however, his remarkable talents began to reveal themselves through all the imperfections of his early education, and he resolved to become a painter in the artistic sense of the term. By this step he was thrown entirely upon his own resources and obliged to earn his daily bread, while pursuing his studies, by illustrating; his income from this labor was a meagre and precarious pittance, which just served to keep him moving along on the perilous verge of starvation. Meanwhile he painted several pictures of mythological and historical subjects, such as "Asa Thor's Contest with the Giants," "The Finding of Moses," and "The Finding of the Body of Gustavus Adolphus," and in 1875 took the academical prize with his painting, "Gustavus Vasa discovers the Treason of the Bishops," for which he received the great medal and a travelling stipend extending over five years. The first use he made of his freedom and his funds was to wander on foot through Sweden, Norway, and Gothland, filling his sketch-book with materials for future canvases. He then went to Paris, where he came under the influence of the naturalistic and *plein-air* painters, and after visiting the principal cities of Germany, and making thorough studies of the old Hanse towns, settled down in Munich as the pupil of Wilhelm Diez The fruit of a second sojourn in Paris was the *plein-air* painting "Bishop Sumanräder's Entry into Stockholm in 1526," which excited such general interest and provoked so much admiring and adverse criticism at the Munich International Exhibition of 1879. To this style, which he never carried to the excess

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of ignoring all gradations and demarcations of light and shade, he adhered in all his subsequent historical paintings, of which he produced one or more nearly every year, besides a great number of genre-pictures, landscapes, portraits, and wonderfully fine aquarels, until 1888, when his health began to fail, so that he was obliged to resign his professorship in the Berlin Academy, and retire to the villa of his father-in-law, Prof. Thiersch, at Berchtesgaden. There in the spring of 1889 his mental faculties became obscured, and the darkness of his intellectual night continued to deepen until death came to his release.

LECKY'S IRISH HISTORY: THE REBELLION AND THE UNION.—II.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Vols. VII. and VIII. D. Appleton & Co. 1890.

In a previous article we have discussed the method and characteristics of Mr. Lecky's 'History of the Rebellion and the Union,' for this is the best description of these two volumes. We have now to examine the views he takes of several points in that history, round which controversies of no small moment have raged.

The first of these points is the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, the Lord Lieutenant who was sent over to Ireland in January, 1795, and forced to return in the following March. In 1794 an important section of the old Whig party joined Pitt, whose foreign policy they found they could approve; and it was agreed that the Irish policy of his Ministry should be modified, and that Fitzwilliam, a leading Whig, should go to Ireland as Viceroy to carry on its government in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. When, however, Fitzwilliam reached Dublin, announced himself in favor of removing the disabilities under which the Roman Catholics still labored, and sought to displace some of the officials who were most hostile to conciliation (and in particular the powerful John Beresford), a storm arose. Pitt refused to support him, and as he could neither satisfy the expectations he had created, nor carry out the policy he deemed essential, nothing remained for him but to submit and return to England. His departure was a triumph for the ultra-Protestant and ultra-repressive faction, headed by Fitzgibbon, then Chancellor, who so misgoverned the country as to bring about, or at least to hasten, the rebellion of 1798.

The motives of Pitt's conduct in the matter have remained obscure and given rise to much discussion. Mr. Lecky's view, which does not substantially differ from that taken by Dr. Sigerson in 'Two Centuries of Irish History,' (the last preceding book which has dealt with the same period), is that the personal influence of Fitzgibbon and the Beresfords had more to do with this decisive and indeed fatal step than any considerations of high policy. Pitt knew but little of Ireland and was far from realizing the grave condition of her affairs. He had no personal objection to Catholic emancipation, but no particular interest in it. He conceived himself to be bound to support Fitzgibbon, and he allowed himself to be worked on by the English friends of the Beresfords, who had the ear of the King also, and by those old Tories who disliked Fitzwilliam and the Whig recruits generally. Mr. Lecky thinks that Burke was right when he wrote: "The one object of the Irish clique is to devise security to their own jobbish power. This is the first and the last in the piece. The Catholic question is a mere pretence." And he points out that the English Cabinet omitted to take any notice of the Catholic Bill during many weeks, although its provisions had been sent to them and their opinion pressed for even before Grattan introduced it. They could not allege the danger of Irish opposition, for there was almost complete unanimity in Ireland regarding it in both houses and in the country—a unanimity which never recurred afterwards. It would seem, therefore, that if the question of places had been out of the way, Fitzwilliam would probably have been permitted, as he afterwards insisted that he had originally been told he would be permitted, to assent to Catholic emancipation, and thereby avert not only the struggle of thirty years which ended in O'Connell's triumph in 1829, but the horrors of 1797 and 1798.

We now pass on to those tragic years. It has frequently been charged against the Irish junto which ruled the island in the name of Lord Camden, the feeble viceroy who succeeded Fitzwilliam, that they deliberately provoked the rebellion by the cruelties which they ordered or sanctioned in order that they might use the rebellion as a means of effecting the union of Ireland with England. This accusation, in which some writers have included Pitt himself, was brought very soon after the Union, and was frequently urged by O'Connell. Says Mr. Lecky (vol. vii, p. 285):

"O'Connell explained on this hypothesis the whole Fitzwilliam episode. He dwelt [also] on the fact that the Government for many months before the outbreak of the rebellion had secret information pointing out its most active leaders, and that, in spite of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, those leaders were suffered to remain at large, and he insisted upon the passage from the report of the Secret Committee in which Lord Castlereagh spoke of the measures that had been taken to cause the rebellion to explode. Such an accusation will probably appear to most Englishmen too wildly extravagant to require a lengthened refutation."

Those who read Mr. Lecky's accounts of the behavior of the Government will not think it extravagant as applied to that Government, for Pitt may well be believed to have been ignorant or neglectful of much that went on. On the contrary, it is a plausible charge, for if it assumes shocking wickedness on the part of the ruling junto, it credits them with a foresight and insight and constancy of purpose which on any other hypothesis they must have utterly lacked. Nothing more feeble, as well as more criminal, can be imagined than the behavior of the Irish Executive during the period 1795-'8, if they were not playing for a rebellion. Their conduct is described by Mr. Lecky himself in the following passage:

"The faults of Irish government during the few years before the rebellion of 1798 appear to me to have been enormously great, and a weight of tremendous responsibility rests upon those who conducted it. By habitual corruption and the steady employment of the system of nomination boroughs, they had reduced the Irish Legislature to such a condition of despicable and almost ludicrous subserviency, that a policy which was probably supported by the great majority of educated Irishmen, could not command more than twenty or thirty votes in the House of Commons. They had done this at a time when the French Revolution had made the public mind in the highest degree sensitive to questions of representation; at a time when the burden of the war was imposing extraordinary hardships on the people. They had resisted the very moderate Reform bills of Ponsonby and Grattan, which would have left the overwhelming preponderance of political power in the hands of property, loyalty, and intelligence, as strenuously as the wild democratic schemes of the United Irishmen, and they had thrown into the path of treason a crowd of able and energetic men, who might have been contented by reform. . . .

"The management of the Catholic question had been still more disastrous—disastrous not only in what was denied, but also in much that was granted. The Relief Act of 1793 had deluged the country constituencies with an overwhelming multitude of illiterate Catholic 40s.-freehold voters, who were totally unfit for the exercise of political power; who were certain at some future time to become a great political danger, and whose enfranchisement added enormously to the difficulty and danger of reforming the Parliament, while it still left the Catholics under the brand of inferiority, excluded the Catholic gentry from Parliament, and thus deprived them of political influence at the very period when their services were most needed. At the same time, by the fatal error of not connecting—as might then most easily have been done—the college for the education of the priesthood with the university of the country, they prepared the way for an evil of the most serious kind.

"The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, under circumstances that were calculated to inflame to the utmost popular passions; the deliberate appeal by the Government to the sectarian spirit among the Protestants, and Pelham's language of eternal proscription against the Catholics, soon completed the work. The loyal and respectable, though unfortunately small and timid, body of Catholic gentry lost all power and influence, and the guidance of the Catholics passed into the hands of seditious demagogues in the towns, who were in close alliance with the United Irishmen. At the same time, the transportation by Lord Carhampton of multitudes of suspected persons to the Fleet without a shadow of legal justification; the act of indemnity, by which the Irish Parliament closed the doors of the law courts against those who sought for redress, and the shameful apathy shown towards the earliest outrages of the Orange banditti in the North, convinced great masses of the poor that they were out of the protection of the law. It is not true that the Government inspired or approved of these outrages; but when it was found that a proclamation which specifically condemned the crimes of the defenders, was silent about those of the Orangemen; that a parliamentary inquiry into these outrages, though repeatedly asked for, was always refused; and that hundreds, and possibly thousands, of Catholics were obliged by terror to fly from their homes, at a time when Ulster was full of English troops, it cannot be wondered at that the Catholics should have come to look on themselves as completely unprotected, and should have been well prepared to receive the seditious teaching which was so abundantly diffused." (Vol. vii., pp. 362-364.)

This passage does not state the whole case against the Irish Government, for it does not mention (and could not, since Mr. Lecky's narrative, to which the passage belongs, had not yet reached that point) their behavior in getting rid of Sir Ralph Abercromby, when that able soldier had endeavored to repress the license and savagery of the troops, and giving military control to Gen. Lake, whose want of ability seems to have been redeemed in their eyes by his still more conspicuous want of humanity. Nevertheless, Mr. Lecky thinks that neither Pitt's Cabinet nor Lord Camden's Executive was mainly actuated from 1795 to 1798 by the wish to carry a Union. He justly remarks that if this had been their purpose, their confidential correspondence could not have failed to furnish evidence against them. He has carefully examined that correspondence, and finds very little pointing in that direction. They were swayed by hatred and fear, the characteristic passions of a caste. They hated liberty and had no respect for legality. They had neither the wish nor the capacity to consider what ultimate effect would be produced on the temper and thoughts of the people by the violent measures they employed. Fitzgibbon, the evil genius of his country during all these years, seems to have loathed and despised it; and his passions clouded his undoubtedly powerful intellect. We do not, therefore, greatly differ from the conclusion at which Mr. Lecky arrives:

"Fluctuating and unskilful policy has often

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the effects of calculated malevolence, and the mistakes of the Government both in England and Ireland undoubtedly contributed very largely to the hideous scenes of social and political anarchy, to the religious hatreds and religious panics which alone rendered possible the legislative union. Nor can it, I think, be denied that it is in a high degree probable that a desire to carry a legislative union had a considerable influence in dictating the policy which in fact produced the rebellion, and that there were politicians who were prepared to pursue that policy even at the risk of a rebellion, and who were eager to make use of the rebellion when it broke out, for the purpose of accomplishing their design. The following striking passage from a work which I have often quoted, shows the extreme severity with which the situation was judged by a perfectly loyal writer, who was in general one of the most temperate and most competent then living in Ireland. 'To affirm,' writes Newenham, 'that the government of Ireland facilitated the growth of rebellion for the purpose of effecting the Union, would be to hold language not perhaps sufficiently warranted by facts. But to affirm that the rebellion was kept alive for that purpose, seems perfectly warrantable. The charge was boldly made in the writer's hearing, during one of the debates on the Union, by an honorable gentleman who held a profitable place under the Crown; and to affirm that the measure never would have been carried into effect without the occurrence of a rebellion, similar in respect of its attendant and previous circumstances to that of 1798, is to advance what nineteen in twenty men who were acquainted with the political sentiments of the Irish people at that time, will feel little difficulty in assenting to.'" (Vol. viii., pp. 285–6.)

But though Mr. Lecky enables us to acquit the Irish Executive of the blackest guilt they have been charged with, he sets not only the folly but also the ferocity of the ruling clique, and indeed of the greater part of the ruling caste, in an even more odious light than we had expected. No recent historian has treated the horrors of 1798 with such severe impartiality, and in none, therefore, do the cruelties perpetrated by the soldiers, the yeomanry, and the Orangemen appear so frightful. We discount the narratives of partisan writers, but we can trust Mr. Lecky. Cruelties enough there were on both sides; but the cruelties of the insurgents were the work of ignorant peasants, wild with fear and revenge. The insurgent leaders almost invariably tried to restrain their followers; they protected their prisoners, sometimes at the risk of their own lives; they respected Protestant places of worship. No outrages were committed on Protestant women. The forces of the Crown, on the other hand, gave no quarter, and killed in cold blood most of their prisoners. They tortured men, frequently innocent men, without mercy, flogging some to death, with the real or pretended object of extorting evidence, tearing off the hair and scalp of others with pitched caps. Hundreds of persons who had nothing whatever to do with the rebellion were killed, or transported, or pressed into the navy; many hundreds of others had their houses burned and were driven forth homeless. Many women suffered the last indignities. And these atrocities were perpetrated, not merely in Wexford and Wicklow, where the insurgents had been guilty of some savage acts, but to a large extent in counties where there had been no rebellion, as well as in Down and Antrim, where not a single act of cruelty has ever been charged against the insurgents, who rose in arms, but observed all the rules of civilized warfare. What is worst of all, the brutal ferocity of the soldiers and of such a fiend as Flogging Fitzgerald, the Sheriff of Tipperary, were approved or at least condoned by nearly all the heads of the military and civil administration. When Lord Cornwallis tried to stop the wanton slaughter that went on after the rebellion had been suppressed, a cry of rage went up from the dominant faction, and his own officials were among the loudest in complaining of his lenity and weakness.

We come now to the Union, and here also Mr. Lecky's researches show a strong case against the Irish Government. Some partisan writers have lately attempted to clear Castlereagh and his associates from the charge, universally believed at the time, of having forced the act through the Irish Parliament by corrupt means. After the careful examination of the question which we find in these pages, no one is likely to repeat the attempt. Mr. Lecky's summing up is too long for quotation, but it shows beyond doubt that the measure was detested by the large majority of the House of Commons and of the whole class from which the House of Commons came, and was passed by a profuse distribution of peerages and other honors, by the payment of large sums to members to retire and let other members, willing to vote with the Government, take their places, by a certain amount of direct bribery to members who retained their seats, and by large compensations to wealthy borough-mongers in respect of the boroughs which were disfranchised. That the 'rotestant Episcopalians of all classes were, with few exceptions, hostile to the Union has been generally admitted; but there has been much controversy regarding the attitude of the Northern Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics. Mr. Lecky represents the former as being mostly indifferent, and thinks that among those Catholics who were sufficiently educated to have any opinion there was, if not a majority, yet a considerable body of favoring opinion. The Catholics had little reason to love the Parliament which had just approved the severities of 1798, and their hierarchy had been led to expect that not only Catholic emancipation, but probably also an endowment of the priesthood and a measure of tithe commutation, would immediately follow the Union. This expectation, as every one knows, was cruelly falsified. The evils of the tithe system flourished in full force till 1838. No endowment of the priests was ever proposed to Parliament, nor indeed has there been any moment when it would have been certain to be enacted if proposed. Catholic emancipation might, no doubt, have been promptly passed had Pitt adhered to the pledges which he allowed to be given to the leading Irish Catholics, when the Union was being debated in Ireland, as the price of their support or neutrality. Mr. Lecky points out, as many have pointed out before him, that the failure to pass remedial and conciliatory measures along with the Act of Union destroyed what value the Union itself might then have been expected to possess, and opened the door to a long and lamentable series of agitations and conspiracies.

Nor does he acquit Pitt himself of what is perhaps the gravest charge ever brought against his good faith, and is certainly one of the most unfortunate errors in his long career. "It is impossible," says Mr. Lecky, in summing up a full and instructive account of the intrigues of Lord Loughborough, the obstinate deliverances of the King, the vacillation and tergiversation of the English Cabinet, and the honest efforts of the unfortunate Cornwallis to satisfy the expectations he had raised among the Roman Catholics—"it is impossible by any legitimate argument to justify Pitt's conduct, and it leaves a deep stain upon his character both as a statesman and as a man." (Vol. viii., p. 523).

American readers who can look at the annals of Ireland without that partisanship which seems to obscure the vision of nearly all Englishmen, will find with surprise that an historian who has stated the facts with such conspicuous fairness seems unable to draw from them those conclusions regarding the sources of Irish disaffection in later times, and the character of British rule in Ireland even at the present day, which they will suggest to every unprejudiced person beyond the limits of the United Kingdom. And such readers will observe, not only with surprise, but with regret, the occasional outbursts of petulance and bitterness that disfigure a work which, had some ten or fifteen unlucky pages been omitted, might have been deemed a model of historic impartiality. In one passage—they are but few—Mr. Lecky seems to adopt a position regarding the moral obligation of the Act of Union on long-subsequent legislatures which is not only splenetic but absurd. In another he condescends to a misrepresentation worthy of a second-rate stump orator. Every one of these outbursts—happily they are but few—is so gratuitous and unnecessary to the argument and purpose of the book, every one of them is so wholly at variance with the admirable tone which marks all the narrative and nearly all the reflective passages, that we cannot but hope that they will not be suffered to stand in future editions, testifying to the readers of the next generation how much acridity current controversies can engender even in the most superior minds.

RECENT FICTION.

The Tragic Muse. By Henry James. Macmillan & Co.

Expatriation. By the author of 'Aristocracy.' D. Appleton & Co.

The Anglomaniacs. Cassell & Co.

A Cigarette-Maker's Romance. By F. Marion Crawford. Macmillan & Co.

The House by the Medlar Tree. By Giovanni Verga. Translated by Mary A. Craig. Harper & Bros.

Rarahu. By Pierre Loti. Translated by Clara Bell. W. S. Gottsberger & Co.—*An Iceland Fisherman.* By the same. Translated by Anna Farwell de Koven. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

A South Sea Lover. By Alfred St. Johnston. Macmillan & Co.

The Miner's Right.—The Squatter's Dream. By Rolf Boldrewood. Macmillan & Co.

Geoffrey Hampstead. By Thomas S. Jarvis. D. Appleton & Co.

If Mr. James were, like his only English rival in the art of fiction, Mr. Stevenson, naturally impelled to write chiefly stories of adventure, he would get more applause than he does for his beautiful manner and exquisite style. Many instinctive censors of literature believe that Stevenson's stories are all action, therefore great; that James's stories are all rest, therefore fine-spun inanity. This sort of comment leads one to suppose that people who are not continually rolling down stairs must not consider the charge of torpidity an aspersion, and that nothing ever is accomplished in life by less violent methods. Most of the people in 'The Tragic Muse' are exceedingly careful of their steps, and yet they achieve a good deal. Nicholas Dormer gives up fine political prospects and a great marriage for the sake of a beggarly art; Peter Sherringham, after much vacillation, is ready to fling over diplomacy and the star of an ambassador for love of the Tragic Muse; the Tragic Muse herself, Miriam Rooth, never dreams of

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giving up anything, but holds fast to her one idea, much to her worldly advantage. It is true that the two men and most of the subordinate characters are less interesting for what they do than for what they think, for mental activity preliminary and subsequent to physical. Mr. James is, in fact, guilty of selecting complex creatures—creatures who are centuries away from savage simplicity—and of devoting his greatest energy to the exhibition of the storehouse of their complexities, the mind. He finds an infinite variety of mind, and its tricks are vastly more surprising and entertaining than a conjurer's tricks, which we see but do not in the least understand. There is the dull, ponderous, prejudiced mind of Lady Agnes; the naïve mind of her daughter Biddy, its ingenuousness crossed by inherited worldliness; the worldly mind of Mrs. Dallow, with innumerable shades, refinements, and even contradictions of worldliness; the mind of Peter Sherringham, her brother, very like hers, but the contradictions heightened by greater possibility of passion; the mind of Nicholas Dormer, slow like his mother's, but much less under control, capable of no end of fantastic flights; last, the mind of Gabriel Nash, serenely philosophical, but nebulous, unreliable, elusive.

Nash is nothing but a mind, a sort of incarnation of wisdom gathered through observation, the sharpness and justice of which have never been impaired by feeling. The other minds are only parts of substantial beings—far the most important parts, most subtle and intricate, altogether most worthy of one whose avowed profession is the complete representation of men and women. But Mr. James realizes that approximately primitive people, people who do more and better than they think, are still to be found in the world, often making great bustle and exciting wild curiosity. The Tragic Muse is one of these. Of mixed race, with a not distant Jewish strain, vagabond from her birth, beautiful, polyglot, and poor, she turns instinctively to the stage, where her natural advantages can be most brilliantly utilized and the disadvantages of circumstance most speedily conquered. Enormously vain, with imperturbable self-assurance, showy, hard, not ungenerous, capable of assuming every emotion and incapable of feeling any not connected with public applause and the receipts of the box-office—such is the Tragic Muse, by far the most brilliant and faithful representation of the successful modern actress that has ever been achieved in English fiction.

By way of education in literary art we commend the reading of 'Expatriation' and 'The Anglomaniacs' for purposes of comparison with any of Mr. James's numerous sketches of similar characters placed in similar situations. The American tuft-hunter is for obvious reasons the basest of tuft-hunters. He (more conspicuously, if not more frequently, she) is fair game for the satirist; but to go out after the game with either a club or a feather indicates at least poor judgment in the choice of weapons. The author of 'Expatriation' wields the club, brandishes it, whirls it and whacks with it, bringing down next to nothing. His Americans are literally Anglomaniacs, foaming at the mouth, dangerous. Between the American Brownstones and Van Teutons and the noble English family of which Lord Mayfair is the ignorant and irascible head, there is nothing to choose, for caddishness and vulgarity. In the wonderful and particular unfitness of all to represent any type or class of humanity, or any sane individuals, they are gloriously equal. The author has, indeed, a faint sense of the distinction between legitimate caricature and gross extravagance, showing it in the pompous sophistries whereby Mr. Van Teuton tries to conceal his flunkey soul. The elder Brownstone is not deficient in very crude American humor, and a scene or two in the Mayfair family is no further from nature than is broad farce.

The author of the 'Anglomaniacs' tosses a wisp at her mark. Sometimes it lights where it is aimed, but nothing is hurt. There is more amusement to be had out of the screeching, preposterous toadies than out of the quiet variety, with their fairly decorous persistence; but if one of the two authors is ever to write a telling satire, it will probably be she who is responsible for the 'Anglomaniacs.'

Wherever Mr. Crawford seeks romance he is pretty sure to find it. He is also very careful not to mix his nations up—that is, he gives his people racial or national touches in addition to common human characteristics. He is most successful with those whom Anglo-Saxons call, collectively, "foreigners," perhaps because they are more plastic and have not to be positively dragged and driven into romantic corners. The cigarette-maker and his companions in the little back shop of Herr Fischelowitz of Munich are only less foreign than Turks and Chinese; they are Poles and Russians, and one of them is a tame Cossack. Whatever their vices may be, Mr. Crawford dwells most on their kindness towards a man of superior birth and gentle nature, whom misfortune has made their fellow-workman. The unhappy Count is a pathetic figure and really noble, verifying in his humble life the discredited adage, Blood will tell. The poor Polish girl, Vera, revives another fast vanishing belief—that in the beauty and strength of woman's devotion. Though the happiness which comes to her at last is rarely the reward of the virtuous, it is occasionally, and there is no reason always to ignore the barely possible. There are warmth, sympathy, and sentiment in every chapter, and these things make joy, especially just after one has been mentally dwelling among miserable snobs, the best of whom has but the brain of a midge, a semblance of a human heart, and never suggests the possession of a possibly eternal soul.

In the beginning, there is no family in the Italian fishing village of Trezza so happy and prosperous as the Malavoglia, whose home is 'The House by the Medlar Tree.' There are old Padron 'Ntoni and his son Bastian, and his son's wife, La Longa, with five healthy children, and last, though not least, the *Provvidenza*, the oldest boat in the village and the luckiest. The Malavoglia are honest, industrious, pious, and much more addicted to minding their own business than are their neighbors. In every village you will find at least one family like that, and you will feel that on them the wind of Destiny ought always to blow kindly—but then you will also know that the wind of Destiny bloweth as it listeth, not as it should. In an evil day, to tide over a poor fishing time by a commercial venture, Padron 'Ntoni incurred a debt for a boat-load of lupins. The lupins were rotten, as that old rascal, Uncle Crucifix, well knew when he got them off his hands at a high price and then made a favor of not asking for all his money until Christmas. Trouble would doubtless have come out of the affair, even if the *Provvidenza* had got safely to Riposto, but, as it was, she ran ashore in the storm and night; Bastian was drowned, and 'Ntoni was left with the widow and children to care for, with the *Provvidenza* a battered wreck and that money for the lupins to be paid by Christmas. From that hour Misfortune marked the Malavoglia for her own. They fought a brave fight, but hopeless, oppressively hopeless; one wonders at their patient courage. Sometimes the cloud breaks, only to close again blacker and more threatening. When two of Bastian's children go to the bad, unable, poor things, to bear the endless toil and hardship and dreariness, then old 'Ntoni lies down to die, not having the consolation of knowing how soon his good grandson Alessio is to buy back the dear home by the medlar tree.

The sadness of the story—and what in life could be sadder?—is not mitigated by the manner of its telling. No story could owe more of its worth to the author and seem to owe less. As we read we are not conscious of an author, a person who has selected a scene and a group of people, then proceeded to arrange a number of events in which each shares, and to present all in orderly fashion with more or less regard for effect. For the time, we are actually in the village, an unseen and all-seeing guest, liking or disliking the people who live their lives and are themselves without any reference to us, laughing, gossiping, and wrangling with them, and with an ever-deepening sense of pain for the Malavoglia that barely stops short of heartbreak. For an example of realism in its widest and only true sense, a sincere rendering of reality that is lasting and universal, and of reality that is transient and local, we have nothing in English comparable with 'The House by the Medlar Tree.' In order to surrender one's self as unconditionally to fictitious illusion, one would indeed have to go back to the Vicar of Wakefield and his family and stay there, or make a great leap over time and space to Mr. Howe's 'Story of a Western Town.' Here, if ever, in this plain story of people, common, ignorant, and unambitious, is the good wine that needs no bush, and the utility of Mr. Howells's peremptory hands-up-stand-and-deliver introduction is not clear. All that he has to say is sympathetic and well said, but the very first paragraph excites hostility in the average human breast. Every reader has his prejudices, his preferences and dislikes; he is generally susceptible to gentle leading in the right direction, but he is not often tame enough to be dragooned into interest in this or that, not even if the penalty of obduracy be Mr. Howells's belief that he is a person not worth interesting. Signor Verga has been fortunate in his translator, who has done her work to perfection. For rendering atmosphere and impression she compares with that veteran translator, Clara Bell, and is the more exact of the two.

Mrs. Bell's translation of Pierre Loti's 'Rarahu' hardly gives us the indescribably sweet, melancholy sentiment of the original. The pretty Polynesian idyll is as sad as Verga's story, but the sadness is not in the facts, it is in the temperament through which Loti looks at the world and which tinges everything he sees. It is a poetic temperament, contemplative and sensuous, receiving complete impressions instantaneously, and uttering them in a vivid, penetrating, fragmentary way. In a dozen disconnected passages he conveys perfectly the exotic charm which the islands of the Southern Pacific have for the wandering European. One can hear the ceaseless roar of the ocean breaking on encircling coral reefs, and the sob of the perfumed winds in primeval forests. In the same detached, forceful fashion, we are made to realize the enchanting grace of the Tahitian girl, Rarahu, and the

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squalid glitter of the Court of Queen Pomaré, in whose notions of Christianity there is an indissoluble union between the Bible and the pious game of écarté. The glimpses of the Queen provoke both smiles and tears—a reckless old savage squatting on a mat, dressed in a loose flowered yellow gown, smoking cigarettes, chaffing the officers of the ships; a sorrow-stricken old woman, fiercely guarding the waning life of her little granddaughter, the last representative of her royal line; a mistress of court revels, dressed in crimson velvet, sitting "motionless in her great gilt chair, like some gloomy and dissipated idol." The sketch of Rarahu's life after her first young lover, Loti, has sailed away, is cruelly conformable to the logic of circumstances. It is not easy to forget the picture of the young girl, wasted with consumption and debauchery, her ghastly face framed in a wreath of flowers, setting out alone to die in her native island of Bora-Bora, and dragging at her heels her forlorn old cat. The letters of Rarahu to Loti are like Oriental love-songs, a naïve declaration of profound passion revealed in exquisite imagery.

The second English translation of Loti's 'Iceland Fisherman,' the finished flower of his literary work, is better than the first, published about two years ago. The translator has reproduced the marked onomatopoetic quality of Loti's language with singular fidelity and skill.

The author of a 'South Sea Lover' has felt the spell to which Loti abandoned himself, but cannot make others feel it with such intensity. His descriptions are more formal, more conventionally literary, fated to be skipped for the narrative of Christian North's adventures on the island of Omeo. The scene is laid in the first of the century, when white men cast on inhabited "desert islands" might either be worshipped as gods or incontinently butchered to make a Polynesian holiday. North is taken to Omeo by a chief's son, Soma, who adopts the fair-haired Saxon for his "blood-brother." This relation is considered very sacred, and makes obligatory on each many sacrifices, including that of life if necessary for the sake of the other. The plot turns on this compelling bond, and culminates with Soma's voluntary immolation in the lake of fire, which for ever seethes and glows on the summit of Monoriro. The action is thrilling and dramatic, carried on by a series of incidents picturesque in themselves, and told with considerable spirit. Soma is a combination of a Greek of the heroic ages and a mediæval knight. Study of savage or primitive races would not tend to confirm belief in his existence, but he is nevertheless a sympathetic and attractive figure in a romantic novel.

When a new country has produced a novelist who may stand without shame beside contemporaries of high rank in the old countries, it has filed a claim for consideration in the republic of letters. Australia, the country of golden sands, unlimited wool, and midsummer Christmas, has filed such a claim by presenting to the world Thomas Alexander Brown ("Rolf Boldrewood"), the author of 'The Miner's Right' and 'The Squatter's Dream.' His first novel, 'Robbery under Arms,' attracted much attention in England, and the two later works fully sustain the good reputation of the first. 'The Miner's Right' has the air of a much earlier production than 'The Squatter's Dream.' The plot is wild, rather formless, crowded with theatrical situations enacted by stagey people. This does not imply a charge of artificiality or deliberate sensationalism. In all stories of pioneer and miner's life, noticeably Bret Harte's, the stagey quality is pronounced, and there is no reason to doubt that it is a quality inseparable from that life and the adventurous, more or less Ishmaelitish, folk who make it. The book can be judged most fairly by dwelling on the multitude of separate scenes and character sketches rather than on the erratic construction, the ineffective grouping of the characters, and their highly melodramatic relations with each other.

'The Squatter's Dream,' on the contrary, is a thoroughly well-sustained study of one character and a continued narrative of his hopes, trials, failures, and achievements. Jack Redgrave is a young man who has to learn, through bitter experience, how wise a thing it is to let well enough alone. Having, while still young, arrived at the proprietorship of a moderately large cattle ranch, he becomes infected with the sheep-raising mania, takes to scorning modest comfort, and will be content with nothing except a great "run" and several thousand sheep, every one endowed by his imagination with a golden fleece. The novel is an exhaustive account of Redgrave's experiment, given very plainly, and exciting a great interest in the vicissitudes to which the ambitious sheep-farmer is exposed. Without any effort, the author arouses sympathy for his hero, and a feeling very close to personal distress when, in spite of all his pluck and persistency, he is obliged to accept ruin and to begin life again empty-handed. The accident which restores his fortunes is not out of the natural course of events in an imperfectly explored country. One noticeable difference between Boldrewood's pioneers, miners, and ranchmen and the same class of men in American fiction is, that the Australians do not all, irrespective of birth and previous condition, express themselves in corrupt and vulgar English, and that points in characterization are not made by the invention of linguistic eccentricity.

Great Britain's older colony, Canada, has produced no novelist comparable with Boldrewood. In the first half of the century, there was Judge Haliburton ("Sam Slick"), but he was a Nova Scotian, and would as soon have thought of calling himself a Yankee as a Canadian. Some few Canadians by birth have drifted to London or to the United States and achieved respectability in literature; but those who have stayed at home and attempted to delineate the life of their country have rarely even reached mediocrity. The Canadian author of 'Geoffrey Hampstead,' a story of society in Toronto, makes a distinct gain on his rivals in the field. The book is as readable as are the average English or American society novels, and rather more amusing, because the reader who is not Canadian must perceive plainly the limited worldliness of the provincial "highflyers" at fashion—a limitation of which they are supremely unconscious. The distinguishing provincial note is the prominence of the "bank clerk." The bank manager does not appear to be of any importance, but about the underling there is a mystical supremacy, and it almost seems that he is truly great in proportion to the smallness of his income, the narrowness of his prospects, and the largeness of his debts. Geoffrey Hampstead is the prince of bank clerks, and when we mention that he is introduced adding up three columns of figures at once, anything phenomenal may be expected of him. He is throughout an extravagantly picturesque person and the centre of a plot which towards the catastrophe becomes mysterious and exciting. The last half-dozen chapters are very well done; swift, concise, coherent, they show a decided ability for narration of improbable events, and serve to efface the memory of the pages of puerile talk and platitudinous reflection of which quite two-thirds of the preceding chapters are made up.

GOSSE'S NORTHERN STUDIES.

Northern Studies. By Edmund Gosse. London: Walter Scott; New York: Lovell.

Of the essays contained in this book, a late issue of the Camelot Series, all but one, the second on Henrik Ibsen, appeared originally in book form in 1879 as a part of a volume of 'Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe.' In the earlier book, besides the essays on subjects purely Scandinavian, some phases of Dutch and German literature were also considered. It is an indication of a literary tendency of the time, the direction of which, in England and America, Mr. Gosse has been, to no small degree, instrumental in shaping, that the second issue of these Northern essays is really of more moment than the first. A few years ago, matters literary in the three Scandinavian countries were subjects for investigation by the venturesome few, whose criticisms were then more often read for their own charm of expression than from any active interest in their subject. The reissue of the essays in the present book with the date of their original appearance calls to mind the fact that Mr. Gosse himself was one of these first navigators into almost unknown seas. Now, when many others have followed him, and all the world talks glibly of the things of which he, with no little intrepidity, wrote, it is a matter for curiosity, in not a few instances, to note how true was his early judgment. It is Gosse, indeed, in the essay on Henrik Ibsen published in 1873, who first introduces that writer to an English public, and there prophesies of certain of his dramas that, "sooner or later, they will win for their author the homage of Europe."

The essays, which, with the exception of one descriptive of the Lofoden Islands, off the coast of Norway, are all on literary subjects, concern the three northern lands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Under Sweden, Mr. Gosse writes a warmly appreciative essay on Runeberg, who, he thinks, in 'Fänrik Staals Sägner,' "has presented Swedish literature with the most intimate, glowing, and original poetical work that it possesses." Under Denmark, we are told, in what is in many ways the best essay in the book, of the Danish National Theatre, and of Four Danish Poets, Grundtvig, Bödtcher, Hans Christian Andersen, and Paludan-Müller. By far the greater popular interest, however, in the light of a certain timeliness that they may be said to possess, attaches to the three essays on Norway, Norwegian Poetry since 1814, and the two, written at an interval of sixteen years, on Henrik Ibsen. These three together are, no doubt, from the editor's point of view, the particular *raison d'être* of the present book. Where everything on Ibsen, the man and the book, is eagerly read by a host of ardent and impressionable worshippers, criticism from so well-known a critic as is Mr. Gosse will naturally and justly find an audience ready to receive it. It becomes, accordingly, a question of some little importance as to the attitude here assumed, and the judgment passed on one concerning whose work there has been expressed such a wide diversity of opinion.

The first essay in the book, on Norwegian Poetry since 1814, well and fittingly describes the environment, a knowledge of which neces-

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sarily renders more intelligible the present position of literature in Norway, and gives it, as far as may be, a material justification. In spite of Mr. Gosse, the dictum that dates Norwegian literature from the new Norway of 1814 is scarcely to be described as arbitrary, and he himself afterward makes the point that the place of Holberg, Wessel, and the rest of the moderns who wrote before that date, is properly in Danish and not in Norwegian literature. The separation from Denmark in the year mentioned, and the proclamation, on the 17th of May, of Christian as King of Norway, most definitely mark the beginning of a new era, intellectual as well as political, for with the assertion of the new national life came also the unmistakable beginnings of a new national literature as a close concomitant. The poetry of the time, the *Syttendemai-Poesi*, or the poetry of the 17th of May, with its "froth and whirl," is interesting and valuable only as a literary phase. The first real poet of the period was Wergeland, born in 1808. Full of the patriotic enthusiasm of the *Syttendemai*, Wergeland quickly became the poet of the people, and this notwithstanding the fact that his verses were "brimful of tasteless affectations and outrages of rhythm as well as reason." Wergeland is greatest in his latest work. "No poet, save Shelley," says Mr. Gosse, "has decked the bare shell of politics with brighter wreaths than Wergeland." A conservative reaction against the "noisy mock-patriotism" of Wergeland's early period and its inartistic presentation, fortunately for the future of Norwegian poetry, was not long in coming. The leader of this movement, aptly called "the Critical," was Welhaven. Welhaven's first mark of attack was Wergeland himself, who, he writes, is "stained with all the deadly sins of poesy." Later, the controversy took on a national character, but the battle was ultimately to Welhaven and the Critical party. Welhaven's poetry, with the exception of the long polemical poem of "Norges Dæmring" (Norway's Twilight), consists wholly of short lyrics. But one poet of note, Andreas Munch, whose first important work, "Den Eensomme" (The Solitary), appeared in 1846, intervenes between the old political poetry and the new national school. Munch's poetry is characterized by beauty of form rather than by depth of thought. Two of his dramas, "Solomon de Caus" and "Lord William Russell," have attracted attention outside of Scandinavia. A few words will suffice to bring the history of Norwegian poetry, in the main lines of its development, down to the writers of the present day. Hitherto its impressions had been sought without, and although there had been much that was purely local in subject and sentiment, there had been, after all, but little in poetry or prose that was characteristically national. "For all their loud talk about patriotism," writes Mr. Gosse, "Wergeland and the rest had never thought of taking their inspiration from the deep well of national life around them, or from the wealth of old songs and sagas." The zoölogist Asbjörnson, by his collection of the folk-stories of Norway, published in collaboration with Jörgen Moe in 1841, was the pioneer to point out by suggestion the direction of the new literary movement. Moe (when he died, in 1822, Bishop of Christiansand) wrote some exquisite lyrics filled with the very essence of the North.

From the *Syttendemai-Poesi* down to Björnson and Ibsen, the Titans of the present, is a long stride in development, but Mr. Gosse's charming itinerary has made the way most intelligible. Both Björnson and Ibsen have found much, though not all, of their best and most enduring material at home, in their own national life. Of the two, Björnson's genius, like his literary pabulum, is the more Norwegian and less cosmopolite. With a warm heart of his own, he is infinitely nearer the heart of the people. His literary fame rests principally upon his peasant romances and the lyrics with which they are interspersed, and in them modern Norwegian literature has reached, if not its highest significance, indubitably its most beautiful and perfect fruition. As a dramatist, he is undeniably inferior to Ibsen, but Mr. Gosse, apparently, thinks much less of his power than a more extended criticism would warrant.

Ibsen is "the real founder of the Norwegian drama," as he is, thus far, its greatest exponent. In some respects he is one of the most notable figures in contemporary literature, at home or abroad. Björnson fits well into his environment. Ibsen, while he is not necessarily above it, is outside and beyond it. Had he written nothing but the early historical plays on Norse subjects and those incomparable works, 'Peer Gynt' and 'Brand,' he might still have been described as continuing on fairly well, in his distinctive way, the direction of the "Nationalists." It is, however, the later prose dramas that have made his name known throughout the literary world, not as a dramatist merely, but as a dramatic satirist, and in this field he stands absolutely alone in the North. He perpetuates the tendencies of no school, and it is safe to say he will found none. It was "Love's Comedy," a satirical play of contemporary life in verse (which dates from 1862 and not 1863), that first exhibits, in tone, if not in form, the especial bent of Ibsen's genius which, more than aught else, has made him known outside of Scandinavia—Mr. Gosse, however, in his later essay to the contrary, since he sees in the "Young Men's Union," which appeared in 1869, the first trace of the characteristics of the later social dramas. Several historical plays on subjects taken from Norwegian history had preceded it, and one, "The Pretenders," by common consent the most perfect from a dramatic point of view of all of Ibsen's writings, followed it two years later.

Ibsen's career hitherto had been varied. At sixteen he was an apothecary's clerk in the little town of Grimstad, near Skien, his native place. With a desire to study medicine, he prepared himself, in the next few years, for the requisite preliminary examination, which he passed when he was twenty-two. At this time, on the authority of Georg Brandes, in his 'Æsthetiske Studier,' "his circumstances were miserable; for a long time he had not even the means to eat regularly at midday. His youth was rigid and hard. He did not as a lad see life's bright side. His own life, not merely from within, but from without, has been a struggle." In 1851 Ibsen began to study at the University, where he fell in with a group of kindred spirits, among them Björnson. This same year, in collaboration with some of his friends, he published a weekly newspaper, which attained, however, but a short life. The succeeding year, Ibsen was made manager of the new theatre at Bergen, which post he held until 1857, when he became director of the National Theatre at Christiania. Five years later, the date of the appearance of "Love's Comedy," the theatre unfortunately became bankrupt. In 1864 Ibsen left Norway, and since then has lived in Rome, Dresden, and, later, in Munich. At home, according to the critic just quoted, Ibsen seems to have lived continuously on a war footing with his countrymen. After the appearance of the dramatic poem 'Brand,' published in Copenhagen while he was in Rome, the Norwegian Storthing, with a rare magnanimity, voted him an annual stipend. 'Peer Gynt,' a second dramatic poem, was the next work to appear, and with it, according to the verdict of Scandinavia, but not according to the verdict of Mr. Gosse, Ibsen really reached the highest literary altitude that he has attained. Mr. Gosse, indeed, in his first essay, written before the appearance of the seven prose dramas, with which the second essay is principally concerned, calls this his greatest work. Notably, too, it is the last work in verse. "De Unges Forbund" ("The Young Men's Union," or, as Mr. Archer has it in his translation, "The League of Youth"), a political comedy, and the formidable ten-act historical tragedy, "Emperor and Galilean," which alone intervene before the first of the modern social dramas, are both written in prose.

'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt' are satirical dramatic poems—they are not dramas—whose like is not to be found in the modern literature of any nation, so brilliant are they in expression, so caustic in their satire, so splendid in the strength of their invective. 'Brand' is, perhaps, a picture of the Norseman as he should be, earnest in purpose and virtuous beyond the suspicion of stain. 'Peer Gynt' is, as apparently, the Norseman as Ibsen conceives him often to be, selfish, mendacious, and cunning. In both there is the same bewildering exuberance in the use of language, of rhyme, and of rhythm; the same vigor and virility of idea and its presentation. They have had an amazing success in the North: the edition at hand (1885) of 'Brand' is the tenth, of 'Peer Gynt' (1886) the seventh; and in both cases there have doubtless since been others. Unfortunately, beyond isolated passages, neither has been translated into English.

Mr. Gosse, while he grants in his early essay all that has been said by way of praise of the work of this period of Ibsen's productivity, takes, in the light of the later prose dramas, an entirely different standpoint. What has gone before he relegates to comparative unimportance, and regards as Ibsen's particular claim to attention the prose social dramas, in the order of their production: "The Pillars of Society," "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," "An Enemy of the People," "The Wild Duck," "Rosmerholm," "The Lady from the Sea." What Ibsen has set out to do in this series of dramas is, according to Mr. Gosse, to make a diagnosis of the diseases of modern social life, not with a desire to reform society, but with the intention of accurately noting down the symptoms of the disorders under which he considers the modern world to be sinking. Mr Gosse, in short, sees in him, as he says, nothing of the missionary or the philanthropist, but evidently more of the skilled pathologist, although Ibsen differs vitally enough from the latter in that what he writes is polemic rather than descriptive, and is rather to be considered an indignant protest against the life of the present than a notation, however close, of its characteristics. A detailed analysis is given of the dramas, which is now doubly interesting since, with the single exception of "The Lady from the Sea," the entire series has become familiar through English translations.

Whatever be the ultimate outcome of the storm of controversy raised throughout the literary world by this astonishing series of plays, the general fairness of Mr. Gosse's position must be conceded. Ibsen, he admits, is not a poet to the taste of every one.

"Those," he concludes, "to whom the most modern spirit in literature is distasteful, who see nothing but the stitches of the canvas in

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the vast pictures of Tolstoï, would reject Ibsen, or would bark back to his old sweet, flute-like lyrics. But others, who believe that literature is alive, and must progress over untrodden ground with unfamiliar steps, will recognize a singular greatness in this series of social dramas, and will not grudge a place for Henrik Ibsen among the foremost European writers of the nineteenth century."

Mr. Gosse is far too acute a critic to be easily misled; and even if there is a difference of opinion as to the relative value of the prose plays in making up an estimate of Ibsen's position in contemporary literature, he is unquestionably to be allotted, on the basis of the whole of his production, the distinguished rank that the critic would give him. If, in these essays on Ibsen, Mr. Gosse were to be charged with a fault, it would be for his optimism. It is in such essays as that on the Danish National Theatre, and others of the kind, that he is really at his best.

Poems, cited in the original in an appendix, have been translated from Wergeland, Moe, Björnson, Ibsen ("Love's Comedy," 'Brand,' 'Peer Gynt'), Arrebo, Runeberg, and Bödtcher. Several of these translations are remarkably felicitous, and notably enhance the value and vividness of the essays which they accompany. As a whole, the 'Northern Studies' is one of the most interesting volumes of literary comment devoted exclusively to Scandinavia that we have had in recent literature.

DEMBITZ'S KENTUCKY JURISPRUDENCE.

Kentucky Jurisprudence. By Lewis N. Dembitz of the Louisville Bar. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co. 1890.

It might be supposed, to judge from the multitude of legal text-books, that a new subject was hardly to be discovered in this department of human labor. The author of this volume, however, has certainly hit upon an idea that is not only novel, but also likely to prove fruitful. The law of all our States, save Louisiana, being derived ultimately from a single source, is in substance identical, but differences in legislation and judicial decision have produced in it variations both numerous and extensive. There is occasion, therefore, for the comparative study of the jurisprudence of the United States, and Mr. Dembitz has inaugurated this study with the volume now before us. His aim has been "to set forth those rules, sometimes forming a whole independent branch of the law, which, in the State of Kentucky, either through statute or judicial decision, have taken a different form as compared with rules followed in all or in many of the other States."

The development of Kentucky law has been in certain directions determined by that of Virginia. In 1776 the county of Fincastle, which included all the western lands of that State, was divided into three counties. One of these was named Kentucky, and became first the District, and in 1792 the State of that name. The treaty of peace with Great Britain, and the cession by Virginia, in 1784, of the territory northwest of the Ohio River to the United States, fixed the north side of that river as part of the northern boundary of that State, and thus it came about that Kentucky is sovereign over the river bed and all the river islands. All titles to land in Kentucky are derived either from that State or from Virginia. In 1776 the Revolutionary Convention of Virginia provided that no further purchases of land from the Indians should be made except upon behalf of the public by authority of the General Assembly. Prior to the separation of Kentucky most of the valuable lands contained within its borders had been disposed of by Virginia, either by land-warrants to the soldiers of the Revolution or to settlers and purchasers. By the "Compact with Virginia," enacted in 1789, it was settled that all rights in lands in the District of Kentucky existing at the time of the separation should be determined by the law as it then was. Hence the Kentucky conveyancer of to-day must be acquainted with the earlier law of Virginia. Owing to the variety of provisions for the acquisition and maintenance of titles, the whole subject has become excessively intricate and difficult. We can only say that Mr. Dembitz appears to have disentangled it in a masterly way.

For another reason the Kentucky practitioner requires to be familiar with Virginia law. That State adopted the common law as it existed in 1607, and the first Constitution of Kentucky declared that all laws at the time in force in Virginia, with immaterial exceptions, should continue in effect. But, as most of the English statutes modifying the common law were reënacted in Virginia, the period of divergence was in effect postponed. When it arrived, however, it was emphasized, for in 1808 the Kentucky Legislature passed an act providing "That all reports and books containing adjudged cases in the Kingdom of Great Britain, which decisions have taken place since the 4th day of July, 1776, shall not be read nor considered as authority in any of the courts of this commonwealth, any usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." Under this act Mr. Clay was once prevented from reading from East's reports an opinion containing a summary of decisions to be found in older books that were clearly good authority. But the statute was soon disregarded by the courts and was eventually repealed. Kentucky reports, however, date back as far as those of New York, and antedate those of Georgia, Delaware, and Rhode Island by more than forty years. In the last-named State, when an official reporter was appointed, the judges told him that they proposed to give him no assistance in his work, and in Kentucky only such opinions are given out by the court as it considers to be of public interest. The manuscript opinions, however, were often hunted up by counsel, and the modern system of unofficial reports of course brings everything to light. As in other States, the earlier reports rank high—partly because judges were then appointed, not elected; partly because the cases were few, and, therefore, better considered, and partly because the difficulty of travelling threw the work of arguing appealed cases into the hands of a few eminent counsel.

Among constitutional provisions there is more in form than in substance that is peculiar, decisions being often influenced by the particular words employed. In the present Constitution we read: "That all freemen" (it is suggestive that the word "freemen" was substituted in 1850 for "men," which was used in the Constitution of 1792), "when they form a social compact, are equal, and that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public service." Many interesting questions have arisen concerning the meaning of the last phrase, especially in connection with exemptions from taxation and chartered privileges. A highly important political theory is contained in the assertion that "arbitrary power does not exist anywhere in a free government, . . . *not even in the greatest majority.*" This proposition is certainly unusual, and we should be glad to learn the circumstances under which it was adopted. Yet the courts of Kentucky have decided, with those of Kansas, and with the Supreme Court of the United States, that the practical confiscation of property devoted to the liquor traffic by a statute declaring that traffic a nuisance, is a proper exercise of the police power. On the other hand, the Kentucky courts have gone beyond those of other States in holding that arbitrary, unequal, and excessive taxation was a violation of the prohibition of taking private property for public use. Upon the whole, the judicial interpretation of constitutional law seems to have been enlightened and courageous, even in the days of the slave power.

Although Kentucky was undeniably a loyal State, the Court of Appeals held unanimously that the Legislature could not authorize towns to raise taxes and loans for the purpose of freeing themselves from the draft or to aid volunteers. It was pointed out, and we incline to think justly, that such laws did not operate to raise soldiers or to increase the military power of the Government, but to relieve persons liable to draft—that is, to enable some of those subject to military service to escape from it. The benefit, therefore, was not to the public, but to individuals. It can scarcely admit of question that the army of mercenaries raised by legislation of this kind was of comparatively little value and was very expensive.

It is impossible for us to undertake any detailed criticism of the peculiarities of private law in Kentucky, but we may set down a few of the points that we have noted, without any attempt at classification. A check drawn against a bank deposit is an absolute appropriation of its amount, and cannot be withdrawn by the maker. The Kentucky Statute of Frauds does not require a written memorandum of a sale of goods. The words of the statute, "No action shall be brought," etc., do not apply to defences to actions, and the term "signed" does not require a subscription. Purchase-money mortgages are practically unknown, their effect being secured by the application of the principle of the vendor's lien. No preferences are allowed in assignments by debtors. A peculiar rule has been applied in the distribution of partnership and individual assets between partnership and individual creditors. Relief is allowed for mistake of law. Promissory notes are not as a rule negotiable paper. The Statute of Charitable Uses has been held to be law in Kentucky, although the *cy près* doctrine is not recognized. Common carriers have not been allowed to contract themselves out of their common-law liabilities, and the principles of the Inter-State Commerce Act have been adopted by the Legislature. The liability of employers for injuries to their servants caused by the negligence of their fellows is greater than in most other States or in England before the recent statute. Suburban communities are not to be forced against their will to unite with cities. Women are allowed to vote on school taxes, if they own taxable property or have children of school age. But the common-law rule still applies to married women's property, with some statutory modifications.

We have been struck with but one serious omission in this most comprehensive treatise—a clear statement of the law of perpetuities. Apparently land may be rendered inalienable for the whole term allowed by the old English rule, during any number of lives in being and twenty-one years and ten months thereafter. This is far longer than is now practicable in England and in most of our States. Mr. Dembitz dislikes this conservatism, and declares that "the habit of 'settling' lands is far too

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prevalent in Kentucky; it has ruined many young men in mind and body." We may add that this is one of the few instances where he offers an opinion of his own, although he is obviously extremely well qualified to discuss general jurisprudence. His work is marked by ability, industry, and scholarship of the highest order, and deserves the recognition of all lawyers who do not look upon their profession merely as a business.

The Gallant Lords of Bois-Doré. By George Sand. Translated by Steven Clovis. Dodd, Mead & Co.

The Chouans. By Honoré de Balzac. Translated by George Saintsbury. Cassell Publishing Co.

THERE is a certain audacity shown in attempting to translate George Sand, because much of the delightfulness of her "profuse strains of unpremeditated art" lies in the charm of her graceful and vigorous style. But Steven Clovis has justified his (or her) audacity by very sufficient success. This rendering, excellent from its intelligence and simplicity, of 'The Gallant Lords of Bois-Doré' ought to find many grateful readers, for the story, of which the scene is laid at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is full of entertainment of the pleasantest kind; while for those who demand something besides entertainment, its lively and accurate pictures of by-gone things and conditions, modes of life, and modes of thought, offers them a royal road to learning. It is to be wished that the translator had exercised a little more thorough care. His work is so good that it might easily have been almost faultless. Two mistakes on p. 32 and one on p. 36 (vol. i.) are instances of the class of errors that he commits too frequently. "Persian shades" should be "chintz curtains"; "quilted silk" should be "raw silk" or "coarse silk"; and "tomber en quenouille" is not the "crumbling" of a fortune, but its passing into the hands of a female heir.

Mr. George Saintsbury, in translating 'The Chouans' of Balzac, had, from the inelegance of the style of the original, an easier, or at least a lower, task than the translator of George Sand, but he has not acquitted himself so well. He has not succeeded in attaining the faithfulness of rendering which he declares in his introduction to have been his ideal; and the difficulties which he had to contend with from his author's clumsy use of French are increased by his own clumsy use of English. When he writes of "the contingent extracted with great difficulty from the district of Fougères, and due by it in virtue of the levy which the executive Directory of the French Republic had ordered by virtue of the law of the tenth Messidor preceding," the vice of his "virtues" is in no wise derived from Balzac; and similar encumbrances strew his pages. A more serious sort of blundering is shown in his translation of "Recteur" by *Rector* (and also "Curé" by *Curate*), a translation which is hardly ever accurate, and which, if used here, should have been so only with a careful explanation, since in this story the title belongs to a certain class of revolutionary priests among the peasants of the Vendée—*Directors* they might be styled—in connection with whom the associations with the title Rector have an almost ludicrous effect. Mr. Saintsbury shows that he is not at home in the French language, though familiar with its literature, by a footnote on p. 19, where he sees a misprint in a phrase which is the same in every past edition of Balzac, and will be the same in every future one, and by which a Frenchman would not be for a moment perplexed.

But when all is said, it must be confessed that the interest of the story overmasters any stumbling in the speech, whether on the part of Mr. Saintsbury or of Balzac himself. This was the first of Balzac's successful works (he had been for ten years writing unsuccessful ones), and though he did not evince in this tale his full strength of peculiar power, no competent critic could doubt then, and still less now, that it is the work of a master. Its historic character and its imitation of Scott (but Balzac was a better and less romantic historian than Scott) set it apart from most of the other volumes of the "Comédie Humaine," and not less its agreeable lack of any need of expurgation. The scene opens the very year that Balzac himself was born, and one feels that if not an eye-witness, it is at least an ear-witness, who writes. He tells the story as it had been told to him by those who had taken part in the terrible struggle out of which he created his drama; and our sense of its reality is deepened by this impression.

The illustrations of this handsome volume do not—and how often is this the case!—illustrate it. It would almost seem as if the artist had not read the text. His representation of one of the most important and picturesque figures, Marche-à-Terre, is absurdly untrue; and the *things* seen, which Balzac, as always, describes with such extraordinary accuracy of detail that he almost provides an illustrator with "working plans," are drawn with foolish vagueness and meaninglessness.

Geschichte der Deutschen Verfassungsfrage während der Befreiungskriege und des Wiener Kongresses, 1812 bis 1815. Von Wilhelm Adolf Schmidt. Aus dessen Nachlass herausgegeben von Alfred Stern. Stuttgart: G. J. Goschen. 1890. 8vo, pp. iv, 498.

THE author of this work, and of two other works treating of Prussian history, died in 1887. The present book is said (by its preface) to have occupied his attention from about 1870. It is calculated to interest professional students of history rather than the general reader, consisting as it does mainly of an array of historical documents, some of which have not before appeared in print, and all of which are accompanied by a running commentary designed to elucidate their bearing on the topic in hand. Incidentally the author points out that where Treitschke differs from older authorities the latter are more nearly right than the former; and he makes out an apparently strong showing adverse to Treitschke's accuracy and trustworthiness in many details. There is nothing very surprising in this, as the Prussian historian passes for a thick-and-thin admirer and defender of the most arbitrary measures of Bismarck, and a Prussian Chauvinist of the most extreme type. It may be assumed that, for the period in question, readers of Seeley's 'Life of Stein' (which mainly follows Pertz and Häusser), get a more correct general view than they could obtain from the later and more pretentious writer.

The German confederacy established in 1815 never succeeded in giving satisfaction to any political party, and has been for many years a target for the contempt and obloquy of men of all shades of opinion. Its defects were not due, however, to any lack of deliberation or prudence in calling it into being, for its constitution was the subject of anxious thought to the greatest statesmen of a time that abounded in statesmen. The discussions and proposals which for three years engaged the close attention of men like Stein, Hardenberg, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Metternich, to name only the greatest, are set forth with much detail in the work under consideration.

The great events which, in our time, have transmogrified Germany, have paled into insignificance the transactions of 1815; but while those transactions may be admitted to possess but a languid interest for the present generation, it may not be useless to note that however much the leading spirits of that day differed on other points, they agreed in taking it for granted, as a matter of course, that Germany without Austria, and, what is more, without Austria overshadowing all the other States, was not to be thought of. This assumption was shared in, not only by the Prussian ministers, but also by the Prussian monarchs even down to our own day. Even the old Emperor, William I., did not, until after the Schleswig-Holstein war of 1864, entirely shake off the hereditary sense of subordination to Austria. Bismarck was the first who dared to attack the venerable superstition. He it was who first was bold enough to conceive of Prussia at the head of a German union from which Austria should be excluded, for even Bismarck could not dream of Austria remaining in Germany if she had to play second fiddle to Prussia. Bismarck never shared in the romantic aspirations for the greatness and unity of Germany any more than Metternich did. Just as Metternich was a faithful servitor of the house of Hapsburg, and labored only to enhance the power of Austria, so Bismarck has been nothing more nor less than a retainer of the Hohenzollerns, and his only aim has been to aggrandize Prussia. If he contributed anything to the glory of Germany, it has been by way of incident.

With such a point of view Stein, although he, *too, had been a Prussian minister*, was never in sympathy. To him Germany represented an important factor in the European concert, and the interests of any particular dynasty or State were to be regarded as subsidiary to the welfare of the whole country. His somewhat hazy conception of a great and united Germany was shared in greater or less measure by the leading men of his time, and as it lacked a solid foundation in historical facts, the German constitution which emanated from it was never practically workable. Even the present constitution of Germany, consisting of twenty-six States, most of which are ridiculously small, can hardly be regarded as a finality. It would seem the inevitable destiny of such pocket-boroughs as Lippe and Waldeck and half-a-dozen more 12mo "States" to be swallowed up by Prussia. Those who believe that a republican form of government is likely to become prevalent in Europe will perhaps echo the famous aspiration of the Roman emperor, and wish that all of Germany may soon come under a single ruler, because it is easier to cut off a single head than twenty-six of them. The present German *Bund* offers *no analogy to our Union. The old Teutonic* tradition of local self-government from which our institutions and those of England received their original impulse, died out ages ago in Germany. The small German States support a number of small courts and petty princes, but have no self-government.

Recollections of a Private. A Story of the Army of the Potomac. By Warren Lee Goss. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

ALTHOUGH in these days bayonets often think, their open speech is more rare; hence a volume from the ranks, albeit rather belated,

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is a very acceptable contribution to descriptive literature. A volunteer of 1861 reconstitutes his daily life in that and the following years, and, with the aid of his comrades' reminiscences, exhibits the views of war that appeared to the rank and file of the Army of the Potomac.

The book is interesting as showing what a man experiences as he develops from a recruit to a veteran under the pressure of active service, and is of value in bringing to view the public opinion of the camp concerning the directing forces, intelligent and otherwise, of campaigns. The field of vision of a private soldier is very limited, and in action he does not know much of what is going on about him; but the opinions and feelings of the men who do the fighting, especially in volunteer armies, have very much to do with the issue. This particular private is unsparing in his denunciation of Halleck when in general control at Washington, in which he will have considerable support; and he expresses many of the adverse as well as of the favorable opinions held in the ranks as to superiors. There were always certain prejudices for and against individual generals in possession of the men; as time and better knowledge have reversed some of these verdicts, the admission is frankly made. One of the most interesting points is Mr. Goss's insistence on the fact, and it is a fact, that a large part of the Army of the Potomac believed McClellan to be in command at Gettysburg, and that belief contributed materially to the success of the Union arms.

Many of the incidents of the field are retold with a close adherence to nature, and running through all is a general sketch of the campaigns, which, although sometimes detracting from the liveliness of Mr. Goss's pages, enhances their value. It is a good book for the average reader, boy or man. One charming characteristic marks the whole — a simple, sincere, unboastful but genuine patriotism, that leaves no doubt as to the honesty of the author, whether fighting or writing. While deploring the necessity that required force to preserve the Union, he is filled with admiration for the personal gallantry of the men who supported the losing and lost cause. He nowhere scolds, and throughout the book presents an unconscious model of the typical Union volunteer.

A Woman's Trip to Alaska. By Septima M. Collis. Cassell Publishing Co. 1890. Pp. xii., 194. 8vo.

Mrs. Collis states that her sole object "is to put on paper for the benefit of others the impressions made upon me by the voyage, and to explain how this delightful excursion can be enjoyed without the slightest fatigue or discomfort, and at a trifling expense." General Sherman has furnished a gallant little note of introduction, and the publishers have supplied an abundance of "process" illustrations, some colored. Many of these are of very good quality, fresh and interesting, from photographs by various persons, including the author. The task of criticism is rendered easy by the standard set for herself by the writer. This has not been overstepped, and fairly represents the character of the narrative, which rambles on in a good-natured, sometimes amusing way. The only serious blunder we have noted is the reference to the missionary settlement of William Duncan, which is deservedly praised, but spoken of in a way which shows that the author is ignorant of the events which some years since drove Duncan and his devoted band away from Metlahkatla to Port Chester in Alaska. As a guide-book the volume is wanting in explicitness and superfluous in personality; as a record of the author's tastes and impressions it is doubtless exact. If one excepts the obtrusively shiny paper, which the style of illustration renders necessary, the get-up of the book is attractive, and it will doubtless serve many tourists as an acceptable souvenir of the Alaskan excursions.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, Mary. The Beverleys. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Boswell, R. B. A Metrical English Version of the Dramatic Works of Jean Racine. Vol. II. Scribner & Welford. $1.40.
Church, A. J. A Young Macedonian in the Army of Alexander the Great. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
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